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## The Use of the Second Person in Deuteronomy.

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THE second person is sometimes used as one would expect,—the singular in addressing a definite individual, and the plural when there is a collection of persons before the speaker. Thus, God says to Moses (v. 30; see 27), “Go thou and say to them, Return ye to your tents.” But, besides this natural usage, there are others,—the plural, as well as the singular, being employed when the people as a whole are addressed, and the singular, as well as the plural, when they are regarded as individuals. See iv. 20 and vii. 6; xiv. 1 b and 3. Sometimes a double usage occurs in the same verse or sentence. See xiii. 1/xii. 32. These facts constitute one of the most noticeable linguistic features of Deuteronomy; yet, until recently, they have hardly been taken into account in the attempts made to determine the structure and origin of the book. Wellhausen,<sup>1</sup> *e.g.*, presents an elaborate hypothesis on the subject, according to which chs. xii.–xxvi. only belonged to the original work; but he says nothing about the use of the second person, and he evidently constructed his theory without regard to it. Holzinger<sup>2</sup> follows him without noticing this important omission. Kuenen<sup>3</sup> claims more for the original author than Wellhausen, insisting that at least v.–xxvi., xxviii., and xxxi. 9–13 must be referred to him, but he nowhere makes the interchange of the numbers in the second person an element in his decision. Dillmann<sup>4</sup> also, who undertakes to rescue most of the book for D, but believes that i. 6–iii. 29 has been rewritten and iv. 1–40 displaced, although he calls attention to the change from the plural to the singular in his note on i. 21, and cites a long list of additional examples, makes no attempt, in this connec-

<sup>1</sup> *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 191 ff., 1889.

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, 274 ff., 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Hexateuch*, 107 ff., 1885.

<sup>4</sup> *Num., Deut., Jos.*, 228 ff., 263 f., 599 ff., 1886.

tion, to account for the phenomenon; nor does he elsewhere give it serious attention. Kittel,<sup>5</sup> who in the main follows Dillmann in this as in other critical matters, also overlooks the significance of the subject. Driver,<sup>6</sup> although, like Dillmann, in his comments on i. 21 he notices the appearance of the singular for the plural, and cites other examples, and although in his *Introduction* he mentions the monographs of Staerk and Steuernagel, ignores the variations in the second person in his analysis. Cornill, on the other hand, in the first edition of his *Einleitung* (1891), in which he mainly follows Wellhausen, makes the occurrence of the plural a reason for suspecting the originality of xiv. 4-21 a, xvii. 16, xx. 2-4, and xxiv. 8 f. (33 ff.), although in his analysis of xii.-xxvi. he several times neglects this criterion, and in his discussion of the rest of the book entirely ignores it. In the fourth edition (1896) he repeats what he said in the first respecting xiv. 4 ff., etc., and finally admits the application of the test applied to these passages to "the frame" as well as the body of Deuteronomy, thus deserting Wellhausen for Staerk (*Das Deuteronomium*, 1894) and Steuernagel (*Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums*, 1894; *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes*, 1896).

The authors just mentioned make the variation in the use of the second person the starting-point of their investigations. The conclusion of Staerk is, that Deuteronomy originally (621 B.C.) consisted of a body of legislation corresponding to the portions of xii.-xxvi. in which the singular is used, but arranged in a more logical order than at present; with an introduction parallel to Jos. xxiv., fragments of which have perhaps been preserved in Deut. ii. and iii.; and a conclusion dealing with the establishment of the covenant based on this legislation, and its inscription upon great stones erected for the purpose, preserved perhaps in Deut. xxvii. 9 f. and 1 ff.<sup>7</sup> He con-

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte der Hebräer* i. 48 ff., 1888.

<sup>6</sup> *Deut.*, 1895; *Introduction*, 69 ff., 1897.

<sup>7</sup> The following is an outline of the work, or the remains of it, as put together by Staerk in the appendix to his book:

ii. 18 f., 9, 26-29 ba, 30 b, 31, iii. 13 a-17\* . . . xii. 13-16 (or 21-24); 17-19, xiv. 24 aa-27 (or . . . xiv. 22 f.; xv. 19-23); . . . xvi. 1 f., 5-7, 4 b; . . . 3, 4 a . . . ; 9-11; 13-15; 16 f.; . . . xviii. 4-8 a . . . (xxiii. 22-24?); . . . xxvi. 1 f., 5-11; . . . xii. 29-31; xiii. 2/1-4/3 a, 6/5; 7/6-12/11; 13/12-18/17; . . . xvi. 21 f.; . . . xvii. 1; . . . xxiii. 18/17 f.; . . . xviii. (9?), 10-12 a (12 b?), 13; . . . xiv. 3 . . . 21 . . . ; . . . (xv. 1 . . . 9 f.; . . . 12-14, 18, 15-17?); . . . xvi. 18-20; xvii. 8-13; xix. 15; 16-20; 21; xxiv. 16; xxv. 1-3; (xxi. 22 f.?); . . . xix. . . . 2 . . . 3 b-7; 11-13; . . . xxi. 18-21 . . . xxiv. 7; . . . xxv. 11 f.; . . . xxii. 13-19; 20 f.; 22; 23 f.; 25-27; 28 f.; xxiv. 1-4; xxv. 5-10; xxi. 10-14; 15-17; . . . (xxv. 13-16?); . . . vii. (12 a), 12 b-24; . . . (xxvii. 9 f., 1 ff.?).

cludes further, that this original work, under the hands of later revisers, took a variety of forms, some of which retained the singular, while in at least three others of which there are traces in the Book of Deuteronomy it was replaced by the plural (86 f., 109 f.).

The theory of Steuernagel is more complicated. He holds that the nucleus of Deuteronomy was a collection of judgments based upon the principle of concentration of worship. This collection grew into two distinct documents completed by revisers, one of whom sometimes used the plural, while the other regularly employed the singular. The two were united, and the collection enlarged by the insertion of a few additional laws, by a redactor who thus became the author of Deuteronomy in substantially its present form (*Entstehung*, 73). The compilation was made in the reign of Manasseh (*Rahmen*, 54 f.; *Entstehung*, 180 ff.).<sup>8</sup>

The last two writers seem to have taken the right direction, but is there ground for believing that Deuteronomy was actually produced by so elaborate a process as either of them describes? Is there not a simpler explanation of its origin? These questions can be answered only after a careful study of the evidence in the case.<sup>9</sup> Before this is undertaken, however, it will be well to glance at other parts of the Old Testament in which the second person is used as it is in Deuteronomy.

The case of Ex. xx.-xxiii. is the most interesting and important. In the Ten Commandments (xx. 1-17) the second person is singular; but when Moses himself addresses the people (*v.* 20) he uses the plural. The last section of the chapter has both numbers, *vv.* 22 f. the plural, and *vv.* 24-26 the singular. In the so-called Book of the Covenant (xxi.-xxiii.), although the singular is regularly employed, there are exceptions as follows: xxii. 20/21 b-21/22, 23/24, 24/25 b, 30/31; xxiii. 9 b, 13 a-ba, 21 b, 25 aa, 31 ba.<sup>10</sup> The change from the singular to the plural in xx. 20 would lead one to suspect that the author intended to use the former for laws, as in the Ten Commandments, and the latter for ordinary address; and the appearance of

<sup>8</sup> For a complete analysis of the book by Steuernagel, see his Commentary, in Nowack's series, in which the various sources are indicated by difference in type.

<sup>9</sup> This is not to be understood as indicating that the researches of which the present paper is the outcome were suggested by the works of Staerk and Steuernagel. As a matter of fact they had practically been completed before those works came to hand, and before the latter's *Deuteronomium* was published.

<sup>10</sup> In the English Version the plural occurs in 21 a also, but it is a mistake.

the singular, as a rule, in the next three chapters seems to confirm this opinion. See also xx. 22; xxii. 20/21 b, 23/24; xxiii. 9 b, 21 b, 25 aa, 31 ba; in all of which the plural occurs in statements made, rather than laws enunciated, to Israel. This explanation, however, is not satisfactory; for xx. 23, which has the plural, is a law as truly as any in the context, — and the same can be said of xxii. 21/22, 24/25 b, 30/31, and xxiii. 13 a, — while xxii. 22/23 and xxiii. 20-31, where the plural might have been expected, have the singular, except in xxiii. 25 aa and 31 ba. Nor, although there may be a case or two of the kind, can these exceptions be explained as scribal errors.<sup>11</sup> The only supposition that accounts for the change in number is that the passages in which the plural occurs have been added to the original text by some person or persons to whom the singular was not a natural or customary mode of expression.

There are several other passages in Exodus in which the form of the pronoun differs from that found in the context. The plural is regularly used when a number of persons are addressed, e.g. iii. 13 ff. and vi. 6 ff.; but in x. 2 the singular suddenly appears, only, however, to pass as suddenly into the plural again at the end of the verse. In xii. 24 the singular appears again in a single phrase, the plural being employed throughout the rest of the paragraph. The latter fact is of interest because, in the two precisely similar passages, xiii. 8 f. and 14-16, the singular alone is found, as, indeed, it is, except in *vv.* 3 f., throughout the paragraphs to which these passages belong. Compare also xv. 26 with the singular, and xix. 4-6 with the plural; and further, in xxxii., *vv.* 4 and 8 with their context, and in xxxiii., *vv.* 2 f. with 5 aβ-bβ. The Lesser Book of the Covenant (xxxiv. 10-26), like the Greater, naturally employs the singular, but *v.* 13 has the plural.<sup>12</sup> These passages, it will be found on examining them, with one exception, like those cited from xx.-xxiii., are among the passages generally, on other grounds, regarded as editorial additions to the text of Exodus.<sup>13</sup> Since, however, in the cases last cited, the inserted passage sometimes has the singular only instead of the plural, and sometimes both, these additions may not all have been made

<sup>11</sup> The only one that seems admissible is xxiii. 21 b, in which the Greek version has the singular.

<sup>12</sup> If, in Num. xx. 20 and xxi. 34, *thou* includes Israel with Moses, these two passages should be added as the only ones of their kind in the book to which they belong.

<sup>13</sup> In the case excepted (xxxii. 4 and 8) the singular perhaps indicates a species of personification. See Am. iv. 12.

by one writer; and, if they were, he may not be the same to whom those in xx.-xxiii. are to be referred.

In the legislation of the Book of Leviticus the second person is commonly in the plural, and only exceptionally in the singular. The passages in which the singular occurs are the following: ii. 5-9, 13-16; xviii. 7-23; xix. 9 a $\beta$ -10 ba, 12 b-14, 15 a $\beta$ -18, 19 a $\beta$ -b $\beta$ , 27 b, 29 a, 32-33 aa\*, 34 aa\*; xx. 16, 19; xxii. 23 ba; xxiii. 22\*; xxv. 3-5, 6 a $\beta$ -9 a, 14\*, 15 f., 17 a $\beta$ , 25, 35-37, 39-44 a, 47-49.

In the first four verses<sup>14</sup> of ch. ii. the offerer is referred to in the third person. Then come the two passages in which he is directly addressed as an individual, separated by one in which the plural pronoun is employed. The appearance of the second person singular, according to Dillmann (*Ex., Lev.*, 374), indicates dependence upon a written source. The omission of the phrase 'Aaron's sons' in vv. 8 and 16 points in the same direction. On the other hand, the plural pronoun and the Aaronic priesthood in vv. 10-12 indicate that the passage is of supplementary origin. The case of xviii. 7-23 is even clearer. The passage consists of a series of prohibitions, all singular, touching improper relations between the sexes; evidently a solid block of earlier legislation borrowed from a written source by the author of the first six and the last seven verses of the chapter, who uses only the plural.<sup>15</sup> The passages cited from ch. xix. represent another series of such laws.<sup>16</sup> The fragments of xx. and xxiii. in which the singular appears are merely duplicates of xviii. 12 f. and xix. 9 f. In xxii. 23 the Samaritan Text has the plural, and this is probably the correct reading. In xxv., however, the singular regains

<sup>14</sup> The English Version has the second singular in the fourth verse also, but Dillmann insists that the verb is in the third singular feminine as in v. 1.

<sup>15</sup> The originality of these laws appears also in the fact that they are divisible into pentads. Nor is it necessary, for the sake of showing that such an arrangement was intended, to include v. 6. In fact, this verse, being a general prohibition with the plural of the second person, does not harmonize with the rest of the series. Moreover, if it is included, the law which should close the first pentad must be reckoned to the second, the last of the second to the third, etc.; in other words, the logical relation of the laws to one another must, in some cases, be disregarded. The correct analysis seems to be as follows: 7-11; 12-16; 17-20; 21-23. If objection be made to separating 21 b from 21 a, one can suppose that a law has been lost from the last division. Comp. Paton's article in this JOURNAL, xvi. 50 ff., 1897.

<sup>16</sup> These, too, seem to fall into pentads, the first consisting of vv. 9 f., without the first and last clauses; a second of 13 f.; a third of 15 b-16; a fourth of 17 f.; a fifth of 19 ab-b $\beta$ , 27 b, and 29 a; and a sixth, in part, of 32 and 34. Comp. Paton, *ib.*, 62 ff.

its significance. The laws with reference to the sabbatical year (3-7\*),<sup>17</sup> usury (35-37), and Hebrew slaves (39-44 a), belong to the oldest Hebrew legislation. See Ex. xxiii. 10 f.; xxii. 24/25; xxi. 2-6. The last has been modified in harmony with the provision for a year of jubilee; a fact which, with others, makes it probable that the remaining passages in this chapter distinguished by the employment of the singular<sup>18</sup> are fragments of old laws with which even greater liberty has been taken.<sup>19</sup> Thus it appears that, in Leviticus, as well as in xx.-xxiii. and most of the other passages cited from Exodus, the earlier element has the singular, while the later is usually distinguished by the plural of the second person.

A word, in closing this preliminary investigation, on the use of the second person by Jeremiah. This prophet, as every one knows, repeatedly quotes Deuteronomy. Zunz<sup>20</sup> gives a list of eighty-six such quotations, and it is not exhaustive. Here, then, is an opportunity to test the correctness of the result just stated. Now the prophet, in direct address, except in cases of personification (ii. 16 ff.; iv. 1 f.; xlv. 14 f.; etc.), regularly uses the plural. Naturally, therefore, he leaves quotations from Deuteronomy in which the plural is found unchanged. In most cases, also, in which the original has the singular, he prefers the other form. Compare xvi. 13 with Deut. xxviii. 36; xxi. 8 with Deut. xxx. 15; xxv. 6 with Deut. viii. 19; etc. But in two cases, v. 15-19 (Deut. xxviii. 48-52) and xxxiv. 14 (Deut. xv. 12), he mingles the two constructions. The last fact teaches that the number of the second person is not an infallible criterion for determining the relative age of the elements of a book or passage.

## I.

It is now time to return to Deuteronomy. This book, too, employs both numbers. In fact, as has already been noted, this is one of its striking features. The question now is, Does the twofold usage in this book indicate diversity of authorship?

<sup>17</sup> The phrase "for you" in v. 6, which is wanting in the Septuagint, is probably an interpolation.

<sup>18</sup> In v. 14 the word "sell" in the original has a plural, and not, as in the English Version, a singular subject.

<sup>19</sup> There are reasons for believing that the law concerning the year of jubilee is an adaptation of that of the sabbatical year. In the first place, it is evidently a piece of patchwork, and secondly, the author of vv. 19 ff. evidently knew nothing about it. See Wellhausen, *Composition*, 169 f.

<sup>20</sup> *ZDMG.*, 1873; *Gesammelte Schriften*, 219 ff.

It will be best to begin the investigation proposed with xii.-xxvi., since this is the part of the book to whose unity there is least objection. An analysis of these chapters, with reference to the use of the second person, gives the following result; the figures in plain type generally representing the verses or sections in which the singular is used, those with the asterisk passages in which the two modes of speech are mingled, those in parentheses passages whose relation to the question at issue is doubtful, and, finally, those in italics passages that are distinguished by the plural.

xii. 1 aa, 1 aβ, 1 b-5 ba, 5 bβ, 6-7 a, 7 b, 8-9 a, 9 b, 10-12, 13-15, 16 a, 16 b-31; xiii. 1 a, 1 b-4 a, 4 b-5, 6\*, 7, 8 aa, 8 aβ-14 a, 14 b, 15-19 (Eng. xii. 32 a, 32 b-xiii. 3 a, 3 b-4, 5\*, 6, 7 aa, 7 aβ-13 a, 13 b, 14-18); xiv. 1, 2 f, 4-20, 21\*, 22-29; xv. 1-xvi. 22; xvii. 1-16 a, 16 b, 17 (18-20); xviii. (1-3), 4-15 a, 15 b, 16-22; xix. 1-18, 19 a, 19 b-21; xx. 1, 2-9, 10-17, 18, 19 f.; xxi. 1-14 (15-17), 18-23; xxii. 1-23, 24 a, 24 b-27 (28 f.); xxiii. (1), 2-5 a, 5 b-26 (Eng. xxii. [30], xxiii. 1-4 a, 4 b-25); xxiv. 1-4 (5 f.), 7-8 a, 8 b, 9 a, 9 b, 10-22; xxv. 1-4 (5-10), 11-17 a, 17 b, 18 f.; xxvi. 1-19.

In these chapters, as well as in Ex. xx.-xxiii., variation in the use of the second person is believed to indicate diversity of authorship. If, however, the passages in which the singular and the plural are found are really by different writers, they ought to have other peculiarities by which the significance of the number will be reënforced. This expectation is fulfilled. In the first place, almost all the expressions recognized as characteristic of these chapters taken by themselves are found only in connection with the singular. The following are the most important:

"put away" (בִּיעַר, *bi'er*), of "evil," xiii. 6/5; xvii. 7, 12; xix. 19; xxi. 21; xxii. 21, 22, 24; xxiv. 7; of "innocent blood," etc., xix. 13; xxi. 9; xxvi. 13, 14.

"then shall die," xvii. 12; xviii. 20; xix. 12; xxii. 22, 25; xxiv. 7.

"the Levite," with "stranger," "orphan," and "widow," xiv. 29; xvi. 11, 14; xxvi. 12, 13.

"borrow," "lend," (עָבַד, *'abhat*, I., III.), xv. 6 (*bis*), 8 (*bis*); xxiv. 10. See "pledge" (עָבַד, *'abhot*), xxiv. 11, 12, 13.

"therefore I command" (part.), xv. 11, 15; xix. 7; xxiv. 18, 22.

"all the desire" (אָהַב, *'awwah*) of . . . soul," xii. 15, 20, 21; xviii. 6.

"be a sin," xv. 9; xxiii. 22/21, 23/22; xxiv. 15.

"hear and fear," xiii. 12/11; xvii. 13; xix. 20; xxi. 21.

"that may be in those days," xvii. 9; xix. 17; xxvi. 3.



"foreigner" (נֹכְרִי, *nokhri*), contrasted with the Hebrew, xiv. 21 a\* ; xv. 3 ; xvii. 15 ; xxiii. 21/20 ; comp. xxix. 21/22.

The linguistic peculiarities of the parts of xii.-xxvi. which have the plural, beyond the number itself, are neither numerous nor prominent. In fact, an absence of independent features is one of their most noticeable characteristics. Still, there is one expression found in them and nowhere else in Deuteronomy ; viz.,

"by the way, in . . . going forth from Egypt," xxiii. 5/4 ; xxiv. 9 ; xxv. 17.

The facts just adduced tend to confirm the theory suggested by the twofold usage with reference to the second person. Nor is their force really weakened by the discovery that there are two or three phrases peculiar to these chapters which occur with both numbers. They are the following :

"the Levite," in connections other than the one above described, xii. 12, 18, 19 ; xiv. 27 ; xviii. 6 ; xxvi. 11.

"place (or "set") his name there," xii. 5, 11, 21 ; xiv. 23, 24 ; xv. 20 ; xvi. 2, 6, 11 ; xxvi. 2.

"eat before Jehovah," xii. 7, 18 ; xiv. 23, 26 ; xv. 20.

Their weight is more than balanced by important material considerations. It will be found, on comparing xii. 1-12\* with 13-31, e.g. that, although they are parallels, the former is more positive and aggressive than the latter. The author of xii. 29-31 was content with warning his people not to meddle with the gods of the nations about them ; that of xii. 1-12\* insists upon the destruction of all traces of foreign religions. Nor is this all. In the second part of the chapter the worshipper is permitted to consume his tithes and offerings at the sanctuary (*vv.* 18 and 27) ; while in the first, although somewhat similar language is used, pains is evidently taken (*vv.* 7 and 12) not to indorse this practice. These discrepancies prove that the chapter is the product of more than one author, and make it necessary to explain the occurrence with the plural of the last three expressions cited as an example of imitation. The occasional occurrence of the singular in *vv.* 1-12\*, also, may be regarded as merely illustrations of the familiarity of the author of the passage with the style of the original Deuteronomist. See Jer. v. 15-19 ; xxxiv. 14.

It is not necessary, for the present, to go into a detailed examination of the rest of the chapters under consideration. Suffice it to say, that there is abundant evidence of the kind above adduced to sustain the theory that at least two authors had a hand in their

production, and that the proportion contributed by each of them is roughly indicated by the number of the second person employed.

The next step is to inquire whether the varying usage with reference to this person in v.-xi. means that these chapters also are composite in character, and that their authors were the same as those who contributed to the "body" of the book.

The relative frequency of the two numbers in this section of Deuteronomy is exhibited in the following analysis:

v. 1-5, 6-18, 19/22-30/33; vi. 1, 2-3 aa, 3 aβ\*, 3 b-13, 14, 15, 16-17 a, 17 b-20 a, 20 b, 21-25; vii. 1-4 a, 4 ba, 4 bβ, 5, 6, 7-8 a, 8 b-11, 12 a, 12 b-24, 25 a, 25 b-26; viii. 1 aa, 1 aβ-b, 2-19 a, 19 b-20; ix. 1-7 a, 7 ba, 7 bβ-29; x. 1-5, (6 f.), 8-15 a, 15 b-19, 20-22; xi. 1, 2-8 aa, 8 aβ, 8 b-9, 10 aa, 10 aβ, 10 b, 11, 12, 13-14 a, 14 b-15, 16-19 a, 19 b-20, 21-28, 29 f., 31 f.

If, now, the supposition that Deuteronomy is largely the work of two authors, one of whom used the singular while the other preferred the plural of the second person, is correct, the portions of this second division of the book attributed to these authors ought to have other peculiarities distinguishing them from each other, but connecting them with the corresponding portions of chs. xii.-xxvi. The question whether this condition is met requires an examination of the various expressions, especially those found only in these chapters, or in them and xii.-xxvi., that are generally recognized as more or less characteristic of Deuteronomy.

There seem to be no such expressions whose use is confined to the portions of v.-xi. in which either the singular or the plural is employed, but there are a number within the larger limits of v.-xxvi. that occur with only one of the numbers.

The following appear only in connection with the singular:

"be able," in the sense of being permitted, vii. 22; xii. 17; xvi. 5; xvii. 15; (xxi. 16)<sup>21</sup>; xxii. 3, 19, (29)<sup>21</sup>; xxiv. 4.

"increase," of beasts, etc., vii. 22; viii. 13 (*ter*); xiv. 24; xix. 6.

"a house of servants," v. 6; vi. 12; vii. 8 b; viii. 14; xiii. 6/5, 11/10;

"servants in Egypt," v. 15; vi. 21; xv. 15; xvi. 12; xxiv. 18, 22.

"remember," of the Exodus, vii. 18; viii. 2; ix. 7 a; xvi. 3; xxiv. 9 a; xxv. 17 a; of the bondage in Egypt, v. 15; xvi. 12; xxiv. 18, 22.

<sup>21</sup> For the sake of completeness doubtful passages will be included in the enumeration of examples, but they will, for the present, be neglected in the discussion.

"son . . . daughter . . . servant," etc., v. 14, 18/21; xii. 18; xvi. 11, 14. Comp. xii. 12.

"let not . . . eye spare," vii. 16; xiii. 9/8; xix. 13, 21; xxv. 12.

"do that which is right (and good) in the sight of Jehovah," vi. 18; xii. 25, 28; xiii. 19/18; xxi. 9.

"corn . . . wine . . . oil," vii. 13; xi. 14; xii. 17; xiv. 23; xviii. 4.

"a peculiar people," vii. 6; xiv. 2; xxvi. 18.

"be prolonged," of days, v. 16; vi. 2; xxv. 15.

"it shall be righteousness," vi. 25; xxiv. 13.

"abhor," vii. 26; xxiii. 8/7.

The following are peculiar to passages in which the plural is used :

"destroy" (אַבַּד, *'ibbedh*), xi. 4; xii. 2, 3.

"hew down" (גִּדַּד, *gidda'*), vii. 5; xii. 3.

The number of expressions properly called Deuteronomic found with both numbers is comparatively small. They are the following :

"redeem," of deliverance from Egypt, vii. 8; ix. 26; xiii. 6/5; xv. 15; xxi. 8; xxiv. 18.

"portion and inheritance," x. 9; xii. 12; xiv. 27, 29; see Gen. xxxi. 14.

"delight in" (חָשַׁק, *hashak*), vii. 7; x. 15 a; xxi. 11.

"hear, O Israel," v. 1; vi. 4; ix. 1; xx. 3. See also iv. 1; vi. 3 aa; xxvii. 9.

"commands" (מִצְוָה, *mišwah*, col.) . . . statutes (חֻקִּים, *hukkim*) . . . judgments" (מִשְׁפָּטִים, *mishpatim*), v. 28/31; vi. 1; vii. 11.

"day of assembly," ix. 10; x. 4; xviii. 16.

In xii.-xxvi. it was found that the contents varied with the style of composition. The same is the case in v.-xi. Here, also, the intensest hostility to idolatry appears in passages in which the second person is plural. See vi. 14; vii. 4 b f, 25 a; viii. 19 b f.; ix. 8-29; xi. 16 f., 26-28. The longest of these passages (ix. 8-29) belongs to a description of the theophany at Horeb, which concludes with x. 1-5. The motive to which the author of it evidently intended to appeal is fear. This appears especially in his frequent references to the terrors of God's anger (ix. 8, 14, 19, 20, 25). See also v. 1-5, 19/22-30/33; x. 17; xi. 2-7, 17. On the other hand, in the passages in which the second person is singular, although there is an occasional reference to Jehovah as an object of fear (vi. 2, 15; etc.), it is gratitude that the writer chiefly aims to excite. See v. 15; vi. 12, 21-23; viii. 2-18; etc. In view of this showing it seems safe to conclude, at least provisionally, that the two writers whose hands can be seen in xii.-xxvi. contributed to the production of v.-xi.

The unity of i.-xxvi. is doubted or denied by many who admit that v.-xi. and xii.-xxvi. are by the same author or authors. Kuenen, while he allows that i.-iv. has points of resemblance to v.-xxvi., finds divergencies enough to cause him to conclude that the two divisions had not a common origin. He cites seven expressions peculiar to the introduction.<sup>22</sup> Four of these, however, occur only in connection with the plural of the second person ; while the other three, although they are found with the plural and in several doubtful passages, are not found in any in which the singular is clearly used collectively in addressing Israel. These facts suggest the possibility of finding here also more or less in the style of one or both of the writers who contributed to v.-xxvi.

The analysis of i.-iv. cannot, at this stage of the investigation, be made so complete as that of v.-xi. or xii.-xxvi.,<sup>23</sup> but an incomplete one will answer the present purpose. The usage with reference to the pronoun in these chapters may be represented as follows :

i. (1-4), 5-20, 21, 22-30, 31 a, 31 b-46 ; ii. 1-6, 7 (8-12), 13 a (13 b-23), 24 aa, (24 aβ-b), 25 (26-29), 30 (31-37) ; iii. (1-17), 18-20, 21 a-ba\*, 21 bβ, 22-29 ; iv. 1-3 a, 3 b, 4-8, 9 f, 11-18, 19, 20-21 a, 21 b, 22-23 ba, 23 bβ-24, 25\*, 26-28, 29 a\*, 29 b-33, 34\*, 35-40 (41-49).

There are five expressions that may be regarded as peculiar to i.-iv., all of which, however, are used at least once, and one always, in doubtful passages. In all undoubted cases they are used with the plural. They are :

“the Amorite,” in the larger sense, i. 7, 19, 20, 27, 44 ; iii. (9).

“possession,” ii. 5 (9 *bis*, 12, 19 *bis*) ; iii. 20.

“contend with,” ii. 5 (9, 19, 24 b).

“sons of Esau,” ii. 4 (8, 22, 29).

“the Anakites,” ii. (10, 11, 21). Compare “sons of Anak,” i. 28 ; ix. 2.

There are a few expressions common to the parts in which the singular or the plural is used in i.-iv. and xii.-xxvi. With the singular occur :

<sup>22</sup> They are “possession” (רִשְׁוֹה), “contend with” (הִתְנַחֵד), “beseech” (הִתְחַנֵּן), “be angry” (הִתְעַבֵּר), “iron furnace,” “people of possession,” and “the Amorite” of the inhabitants of Palestine in general. (*Hexateuch*, 121.)

<sup>23</sup> At first sight, it will seem strange that such verses as ii. 9 and 18 f. and iii. 2 should be put into parentheses. The reason for so doing is, that in these cases the commands of Jehovah are addressed to Moses as the leader, rather than the representative, of the people. Compare ii. 7 and 25.

"from the midst of," with a pronoun, iv. 3 b; xiii. 6/5, 14/13 a; xvii. 7; xviii. 15 a; xix. 19 b; xxi. 9, 21; xxii. 21, 24 b; xxiv. 7.

"as an inheritance," iv. 21 b, 38; xv. 4; xix. 10; xx. 16; xxi. 23; xxiv. 4; xxv. 19; xxvi. 1.

"make stubborn," of the heart, ii. 30; xv. 7.

The only one to be noted as used exclusively with the plural in these divisions of the book is:

"make war for," of Jehovah, i. 30; iii. 22; xx. 4.

The following are common to the parts of i.-iv. and v.-xi. in which the singular is employed:

"know therefore" (perf.), iv. 39; vii. 9; viii. 5; ix. 3, 6.

"covenant," between Jehovah and the fathers, iv. 31; vii. 9, 12 b; viii. 18.

"now forty years," ii. 7; viii. 2, 4.

These occur with the plural only:

"be angry" (הִתְאַנֵּף, *hith'anneph*), i. 37; iv. 21 a; ix. 8, 20.

"eyes that see," iii. 21\*; iv. 3 a; xi. 7.

"Kadesh-barnea," i. (2), 19; ii. (14); ix. 23; comp. i. 46; xxxii. (51).

There are two terms that appear in all of the three divisions of i.-xxvi., all with the singular; viz.:

"devote," ii. (34); iii. (6); vii. 2; xiii. 16/15; xx. 17.

"all the days of . . . life," iv. 9; vi. 2; xvi. 3; xvii. (19).

There remain to be enumerated the expressions that occur with both the singular and the plural in i.-iv. and xii.-xxvi. or v.-xi., or both.

Two are common to i.-iv. and xii.-xxvi.; viz.:

"act presumptuously," i. 43; xvii. 13; xviii. 20. See also xvii. 12.

"give rest," iii. 20; xii. 10; xxv. 19.

The following occur in both i.-iv. and v.-xi.:

"the good land," i. 35; iii. 25; iv. 21 b, 22; vi. 18; viii. 10; xi. 17. See also ix. 6.

"with a mighty hand," alone, iii. 24; vi. 21; vii. 8 a; ix. 26; also xxxiv. (12).

"from the midst of the fire," iv. 12, 15, 33, 36; v. 4, 19/22, 21/24, 23/26; ix. 10; x. 4.

"at that time," i. 9, 16, 18; ii. (34); iii. (4, 8, 12), 18, 21\*, 23; iv. 14; v. 5; ix. 20; x. 1, 8.

"testimonies and statutes" (masc.); with "judgments," iv. (45); vi. 20 b; with "commands," vi. 17\*.

The greater number are found in all three divisions. So:

"that it may be well," iv. 40; v. 16, 26/29; vi. 3 a $\beta$ \*, 18; xii. 25, 28; xxii. 7.

"expel" (יָרַשׁ, *yarash*, III.), iv. 38; vii. 17; ix. 3, 4, 5; xi. 23; xviii. 12.

"give into . . . hand," of enemies, i. 27; ii. (24 a $\beta$ ), 30; iii. (2, 3); vii. 24; xix. 12; xx. 13; xxi. 10.

"love," by God for his people, iv. 37; vii. 8 a, 13; x. 15 a; xxiii. 6/5 b.

"take heed to one's self" (שָׁמַר, *shamar*, II.), iv. 23 a; vi. 12; viii. 11; xi. 16; xii. 13, 19, 30; xv. 9.

"choose," of persons, iv. 37; vii. 6, 7; x. 15 b; xiv. 2; xvii. 15; xviii. 5; xxi. 5.

"give to possess," iii. 18; v. 28/31; xii. 1 a $\beta$ ; xv. 4; xix. 2; xxi. 1; xxv. 19.

"a strong hand and an outstretched arm," iv. 34\*; v. 15; vii. 19; xi. 2; xxvi. 8.

"how" (אֵכָה, *'ekhah*), i. 12; vii. 17; xii. 30; xviii. 21. See also xxxii. 30.

"statutes" (masc.), alone, iv. 6; vi. 24; xvi. 12 (xvii. 19).

"which I command (part.) . . .," without "this day," iv. 2 (*bis*); vi. 2; xi. 22; xii. 11, 14, 28; xiii. 1/xii. 32 a.

"turn and go," etc., i. 7, 24, 40; ii. 1 (8); iii. (1); ix. 15; x. 5; xvi. 7.

"statutes (masc.) and judgments," iv. 1, 5, 8, 14; v. 1; xi. 32; xii. 1 a $\alpha$ ; xxvi. 16.

It appears that the list of words and phrases with reference to which usage varies is about as long as that of the expressions found with only one form of the pronoun. It is important, however, to notice that in 14 of the 20 cases of twofold usage one or the other has but a single example; and that there are only 7 instances in which the relative frequency of the numbers is represented by a ratio less than that of 1 : 3. All this points to the conclusion that at least two writers are represented in i.-iv., and that the two whose styles are here traceable are the same who contributed to xii.-xxvi. and v.-xi.

Here, again, the linguistic is reinforced by material evidence that should not be overlooked. The most important passage to be noticed in this connection is iv. 11-18, where a prohibition of idols is interwoven with a description of the theophany at Horeb. Like ix. 8-x. 5 it has the plural of the second person throughout. See further, on the subject of idolatry, iv. 23 b $\alpha$ , 25 b $\alpha$ , and 28; comparing iv. 19

(with the singular), where it is the worship of the heavenly bodies, and not idols, that is deprecated.<sup>24</sup> On the theophany see also iv. 23 a, and compare 33 and 36.<sup>25</sup> The last two verses belong to a passage calculated to inspire confidence in, and gratitude toward, Jehovah,<sup>26</sup> like viii. 2-18, which also has the singular. See further, i. 31 a and ii. 7.

There is general agreement in the opinion that both the "song" (xxxii. 1-43) and the "blessing" (xxxiii.) of Moses, as well as the greater part of the last chapter of Deuteronomy are undeuteronic. The originality of much, if not all, of xxvii.-xxxi. has also been disputed. In the latter case the test already applied to the first three divisions of the book may be employed with a prospect of interesting and valuable results, since it appears on examination that of the twenty expressions ("deal wisely," "curse," "abominations," "idols," "lest there be," "stubbornness of heart," "pardon," "smoke," "unto evil," "sicknesses," "forsake the covenant of," "root out," "indignation," "banish"; phrases in xxix. 5/6 b, 17/18 b, 18/19 b, and 19/20; sentences in xxix. 9/10 f. and 28/29) on the basis of which Dillmann (*Num., Deut., Jos.*, 378) rejects xxix. f., all but two occur only in the former of these chapters, and, in fact, with one further exception, exclusively in the parts of it in which the second person is plural.

The case with reference to the use of the pronouns in xxvii.-xxxii. will be understood from the following analysis:

xxvii. 1-2 aa, 2 aβ-3, 4 a, 4 b-10, 11-26; xxviii. 1-13, 14\*, 15-61, 62 a, 62 b, 63 a-ba, 63 bβ-68 a, 68 b\* (69/xxix. 1); xxix. 1, 2, 3-4 ba, 4 bβ, 5-10 aa, 10 aβ-12, 13-28 (Eng. 2, 3, 4-5 ba, 5 bβ, 6-11 aa, 11 aβ-13, 14-29); xxx. 1-17, 18 aa-ba, 18 bβ, 19 aa, 19 aβ-20; xxxi. 1-4, 5-6 a, 6 b (7 f.), 9-12 a, 12 b-13 (14-18), 19 aa (19 aβ-25), 26 a, 26 b-27 a, 27 b-30; xxxii. (1-3 a), 3 b (4 f.), 6 a, 6 b-7 aa, 7 aβ, 7 b (8-15 aa), 15 aβ (15 b-17 ba), 17 bβ, 18 (19-43), 44-47 (48-52).

There seem to be no words or phrases, recognized as Deuteronic, which are found only with the singular or the plural in this division; unless one reckon as such

"fruit of . . . cattle," xxviii. 4, 11, 51; xxx. 9.

"be strong and courageous," xxxi. 6 a (7, 23); comp. iii. 28.

<sup>24</sup> iv. 34\* will be considered later.

<sup>25</sup> iv. 10, also, will receive special attention.

<sup>26</sup> The occurrence of the plural in vi. 34\* will be explained in another connection.

There are only two expressions common to the parts in which the singular is used in xxvii. ff. and xii.-xxvi.:

"basket" (סַנְיָה, *tene'*), xxvi. 2, 4; xxviii. 5, 17.

"the priests, the sons of Levi," xxi. 5; xxxi. 9.

Chapters xxvii. ff. and v.-xi. have in common the following expressions with the singular:

"destroy" (שָׂמַד, *shamadh*, II., III.), after "until," vii. 23, 24; xxviii. 20, 24, 45, 48, 51, 61.

"statutes (fem.) and commands," vi. 2; x. 13; xxviii. 15, 45; xxx. 10; with "judgments," viii. 11; xi. 1; xxx. 16.

"increase," of cattle, vii. 13; xxviii. 4, 18, 51.

In xxvii. ff. and i.-iv. is found, with the singular,

"statutes (masc.) and commands," iv. 40; xxvii. 10 (*k<sup>e</sup>ri*); with "judgments," xxvi. 17.

In xxvii. ff., v.-xi., and xii.-xxvi., also with the singular, occur:

"fruit of the soil," vii. 13; xxvi. 2; xxviii. 4, 11, 18, 33, 42, 51; xxx. 9.

"eat and be satisfied," vi. 11; viii. 10, 12; xi. 15; xiv. 29; xxvi. 12; xxxi. (20).

"fruit of . . . womb," vii. 13; xxviii. 4, 11, 18, 53; xxx. 9.

"a holy people," vii. 6; xiv. 2, 21 a $\beta$ ; xxvi. 19; xxviii. 9.

In xxvii. ff., i.-iv., and xii.-xxvi., with the singular occur the expressions:

"all the work of . . . hands," ii. 7; xiv. 29; xvi. 15; xxiv. 19; xxviii. 12; xxx. 9. See xxxi. 29.

"entice," iv. 19; xiii. 6/5 a $\beta$ , 11/10, 14/13 a; xxx. 17.

xxvii. ff., i.-iv., and v.-xi. have other peculiarities in connection with both the singular and the plural of the second person: with the singular,

"which . . . eyes have seen," iv. 9; vii. 19; x. 21; xxix. 2/3.

With the plural,

"covenant," of the transaction at Horeb, iv. 13, 23; v. 2, 3; ix. 9, 11, 15; xxviii. (69/xxix. 1).

"cross to possess," iv. 14, 26; vi. 1; xi. 8 b, 11; xxxi. 13; xxxii. 47.

"rebel," i. 26, 43; ix. 7 b $\beta$ , 23, 24; xxxi. 27 b.

"destroy," with "to" of purpose or result, i. 27; ix. 8, 19, 20, 25; xxviii. 63 a.

"call to witness," iv. 26; viii. 19 b; xxx. 19 aa; xxxi. 28; xxxii. 46.

"greatness," of God, iii. 24; v. 21/24; ix. 26; xi. 2; xxxii. 3 b.

"utterly perish," iv. 26; viii. 19 b; xxx. 18 a.



The Deuteronomic expressions that occur in xxvii. ff. and one or more of the other three divisions of the book with both the singular and the plural must also be enumerated.

The following are common to xxvii. ff. and xii.-xxvi. :

"gates," for cities, v. 14 ; xii. 12, 15, 17, 18, 21 ; xiv. 21 a\*, 27, 28, 29 ; xv. 7, 22 ; xvi. 5, 11, 14, 18 ; xvii. 2, 8 ; xviii. 6 ; xxiii. 17/16 ; xxiv. 14 ; xxvi. 12 ; xxviii. 52, 55, 57 ; xxxi. 12 a.

"choose," of the location of the central sanctuary, xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26 ; xiv. 23, 24, 25 ; xv. 20 ; xvi. 2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16 ; xvii. 8, 10 ; xviii. 6 ; xxvi. 2 ; xxxi. 11.

"endeavor," lit. "stretching of the hand," xii. 7 a, 18 ; xv. 10 ; xxiii. 21/20 ; xxviii. 8, 20.

"stranger" with "orphan" and "widow," x. 18 ; xiv. 29 ; xvi. 11, 14 ; xxiv. 17, 19, 20, 21 ; xxvi. 12, 13 ; xxvii. 19.

"rejoice," at the sanctuary, xii. 7 a, 12, 18 ; xiv. 26 ; xvi. 11, 14 ; xxvi. 11 ; xxvii. 7.

"surely" (אִי, 'akh), xii. 22 ; xiv. 7 ; xvi. 15 ; xxviii. 29.

"the priests, the Levites," xvii. 9 (18) ; xviii. (1) ; xxiv. 8 b ; xxvii. 9.

"go and serve other gods," xiii. 7/6, 14/13 b ; xvii. 3 ; xxix. 25/26.

"the Levites" alone, xviii. 7 ; xxvii. 14 ; xxxi. (25).

"I" in the shorter form (אֲנִי, 'ani), xii. 30 ; xxix. 5/6 ; xxxii. (21, 39 quat., 49, 52).

"covenant," of Deuteronomy, xvii. 2 ; xxviii. (69/xxix. 1) ; xxix. 8/9, 11/12, 13/14, 20/21.

The only ones found in xxvii. ff. and v.-xi. are :

"neck" (צֵר, 'oreph), as the seat of obstinacy, ix. 6, 13 ; x. 16 ; xxxi. 27 a.

"multiply," as an object of desire, vi. 3 aβ\* ; viii. 1 ; xxx. 16.

These occur in xxvii. ff., v.-xi., and xii.-xxvi. :

"these nations," vii. 17, 22 ; ix. 4, 5 ; xi. 23 ; xii. 30 ; xviii. 14 ; xix. 1 ; xx. 15 ; xxxi. 3.

"an abomination to (before) Jehovah," vii. 25 b ; xii. 31 ; xvii. 1 ; xviii. 12 a ; xxii. 5 ; xxiii. 19/18 ; xxiv. 4 ; xxv. 16 ; xxvii. 15.

"abomination," vii. 26 ; xiii. 15/14 ; xiv. 3 ; xvii. 4 ; xviii. 9 (pl.) ; xx. 18 (pl.) ; xxxii. (16, pl.).

"elders," v. 20/23 ; xix. 12 ; xxi. 2, 3, 4, 6, 19, 20 ; xxii. 15, 16, 17, 18 ; xxv. (7, 8, 9) ; xxvii. 1 ; xxix. 9/10 ; xxxi. 9, 28.

"flowing with milk and honey," vi. 3 b ; xi. 9 ; xxvi. 9, 15 ; xxvii. 3 ; xxxi. (20).

"thoroughly" (רִטְבָּה, *hetebh*), ix. 21; xiii. 15/14; xvii. 4; xix. 18; xxvii. 8.

"walk in Jehovah's ways" (way), v. 30/33; viii. 6; x. 12; xi. 22; xiii. 6/5 aβ; xix. 9; xxvi. 17; xxviii. 9; xxx. 16.

"love," with Jehovah as object, v. 10; vi. 5; vii. 9; x. 12; xi. 1, 13, 22; xiii. 4/3 b; xix. 9; xxx. 6, 16, 20.

"not know," after a relative, viii. 3, 16; xi. 28; xiii. 3/2, 7/6, 14/13 b; xxviii. 33, 36, 64; xxix. 25/26; xxxii. (17). See vii. 15.

"fear," as a duty to Jehovah, v. 26/29; vi. 2, 13, 24; viii. 6; x. 12, 20; xiii. 5/4; xxviii. 58; xxxi. 12 b.

"command," as a collective, v. 10 (*k<sup>e</sup>thibh*), 28/31; vi. 1, 25; vii. 9 (*k<sup>e</sup>thibh*), 11; viii. 1 aa, 2 (*k<sup>e</sup>thibh*); xi. 8 aa, 22; xv. 5; xvii. (20); xix. 9; xxvi. 13; xxvii. 1, 10 (*k<sup>e</sup>thibh*); xxx. 11; xxxi. 5.

"blessing" and "curse" contrasted, xi. 26, 27 f., 29; xxiii. 6/5; xxx. 1, 19 aβ.

"stranger," "orphan," and "widow," without "the Levite," x. 18; xxiv. 17, 19, 20, 21; xxvii. 19.

"commands" alone, iv. 2; v. 10 (*k<sup>e</sup>ri*), 26/29; vii. 9 (*k<sup>e</sup>ri*); viii. 2 (*k<sup>e</sup>ri*), 6; xi. 13, 27, 28; xiii. 5/4, 19/18; xxvi. 18; xxvii. 10 (*k<sup>e</sup>ri*); xxviii. 1, 9, 13; xxx. 8.

"other gods," vi. 14; vii. 4 a; viii. 19 a; xi. 16, 28; xiii. 3/2, 7/6, 14/13 b; xvii. 3; xviii. 20; xxviii. 14\*, 36, 64; xxix. 25/26; xxxi. (20).

"learn to fear," iv. 10; xiv. 23; xvii. (19); xxxi. 13.

"serve Jehovah," vi. 13; x. 12; xi. 13; xiii. 5/4; xxviii. 47.

"observe to do," v. 1, 29/32; vi. 3 aa, 25; vii. 11; viii. 1 aβ; xi. 22, 32; xii. 1 aa; xiii. 1 a/xii. 32 a; xv. 5; xvii. 10; xix. 9; xxiv. 8 b; xxviii. 1, 15, 58; xxxi. 12 b; xxxii. 46.

"assembly," v. 19/22; ix. 10; x. 4; xviii. 16; xxiii. 2/1, 3/2 (*bis*), 4/3 (*bis*), 9/8; xxxi. 30.

In xxvii. ff. and i.-iv. occurs

"heart" (לֵב, *leb*), iv. 11; xxviii. 65; xxix. 3/4, 18/19.

The following are peculiar to xxvii. ff., i.-iv., and xii.-xxvi.:

"this law," i. 5; iv. 8; xvii. (18, 19); xxvii. 3, 8, 26; xxviii. 58, 61; xxix. 28/29; xxxi. 9, 11, 12 b (24); xxxii. 46.

"wives" and "little ones," ii. (34); iii. (6), 19; xx. 14; xxix. 10/11 aa; xxxi. 12 a.

"which . . . live on the soil," iv. 10; xii. 1 b; xxxi. 13.

"cause to inherit" (the promised land), i. 38; iii. 28; xii. 10; xix. 3; xxxi. (7).

"officers," i. 15; xvi. 18; xx, 5, 8, 9; xxix. 9/10; xxxi. 28.

In xxvii. ff., i.-iv., and v.-xi. are found :

“ trials,” iv. 34\* ; vii. 19 ; xxix. 2/3.

“ in order that ” (אֲשֶׁר, *asher*), iv. 10, 40 ; vi. 3 aβ\* ; xxxii. 46.

“ as at this day,” ii. 30 ; iv. 20, 38 ; vi. 24 ; viii. 18 ; x. 15 b ; xxix. 27/28.

“ quickly ” (מָהֵר, *maher*), iv. 26 ; vii. 4 bβ, 22 ; ix. 3, 12 (*bis*), 16 ; xxviii. 20.

“ unto this day,” ii. (22) ; iii. (14) ; x. 8 ; xi. 4 ; xxix. 3/4 ; see also xxxiv. (6).

“ provoke,” iv. 25\* ; ix. 18 ; xxxi. 29 ; xxxii. (16, 21).

The following are common to xxvii. ff. and all the other three divisions of Deuteronomy :

“ sign ” and “ wonder,” iv. 34\* ; vi. 22 ; vii. 19 ; xiii. 2/1, 3/2 ; xxvi. 8 ; xxviii. 46 ; xxix. 2/3 ; also xxxiv. (11).

“ bless,” prosper, i. 11 ; ii. 7 ; vii. 13 (*bis*), 14 ; xii. 7 b ; xiv. 24, 29 ; xv. 4, 10, 18 ; xvi. 10, 15 ; xxiii. 21/20 ; xxiv. 19 ; xxvi. 15 ; xxviii. 3 (*bis*), 4, 5, 6 (*bis*), 8, 12 ; xxx. 16.

“ come (bring) to possess,” of the land (people), iv. 5 ; vii. 1 ; ix. 4, 5 ; xi. 10 aa, 29 ; xii. 29 ; xxiii. 21/20 ; xxviii. 21, 63 bβ ; xxx. 16.

“ always,” lit. “ all the days,” iv. 40 ; v. 26/29 ; vi. 24 ; xi. 1 ; xiv. 23 ; xviii. 5 ; xix. 9 ; xxviii. 29, 33.

“ not forget,” of Jehovah and his requirements, iv. 9, 23 a ; vi. 12 ; viii. 11, 14, 19 a ; xxv. 19 ; xxvi. 13 ; xxxi. (21) ; xxxii. 18. See also ix. 7.

“ be destroyed ” (שָׁמַד, *shamadh*, II.), iv. 26 ; vii. 23 ; xii. 30 ; xxviii. 20, 24, 45, 51, 61.

“ as he (Jehovah) spake,” i. 11, 21 ; vi. 3 b, 19 ; ix. 3 ; x. 9 ; xi. 25 ; xii. 20 ; xv. 6 ; xviii. (2) ; xxvi. 18, 19 ; xxvii. 3 ; xxix. 12/13 ; xxxi. 3.

“ brother ” in the sense of ‘ fellow ’, i. 16 (*bis*), 28 ; iii. 18, 20 ; x. 9 ; xv. 2, 3, 7 (*bis*), 9, 11, 12 ; xvii. 15 (*bis*) (20) ; xviii. (2), 7, 15 a, 18 ; xix. 18, 19 a ; xx. 8 ; xxii. 1 (*bis*), 2 (*bis*), 3, 4 ; xxiii. 20/19, 21/20 ; xxiv. 7, 14 ; xxv. 3, 11 ; xxviii. 54.

“ only ” (רַק, *rak*), ii. (28, 35, 37) ; iii. (11), 19 ; iv. 6, 9 ; x. 15 a ; xii. 15, 16 a, 23, 26 ; xv. 5, 23 ; xvii. 16 a ; xx. 14, 16, 20 ; xxviii. 13, 33.

“ friend ” (רֵעַ, *rea'*), iv. (42) ; v. 17/20, 18/21 ; xiii. 7/6 ; xv. 2 (*bis*) ; xix. 4, 5, 11, 14 ; xxii. 24 a, 26 ; xxiii. 25/24, 26/25 (*bis*) ; xxiv. 10 ; xxvii. 17, 24.

“ listen to (שָׁמַע) the voice of,” i. 45 ; iv. 30 ; viii. 20 ; ix. 23 ; xiii.

5/4, 19/18; xv. 5; xxi. 18, 20; xxvi. 14, 17; xxvii. 10; xxviii. 1, 2, 15, 45, 62 b; xxx. 2, 8, 10, 20.

"stranger" ("strangers"), with a possessive pronoun, i. 16; v. 14; xxiv. 14; xxix. 10/11 a $\beta$ ; xxxi. 12 a.

"which Jehovah . . . giveth" (part.), i. 20, 25; ii. (29); iii. 20; iv. 1, 21 b, 40; v. 16, 28/31; xi. 17, 31; xii. 9 b; xiii. 13/12; xv. 4, 7; xvi. 5, 18, 20; xvii. 2, 14; xviii. 9; xix. 2, 10, 14; xx. 16; xxi. 1, 23; xxiv. 4; xxv. 15, 19; xxvi. 1, 2; xxvii. 2 a $\beta$ , 3; xxviii. 8. See xxxii. (49, 52).

"in the midst of" (בְּקֶרֶב, *b'kerebh*), i. 42; iv. 5; vi. 15; vii. 21; xi. 6; xiii. 2/1, 12/11, 15/14; xvi. 11; xvii. 2 (20); xviii. (2); xix. 10, 20; xxi. 8; xxiii. 15/14, 17/16; xxvi. 11; xxviii. 43; xxix. 10/11 a $\beta$ , 15/16.

"with all . . . heart," etc., iv. 29 b; vi. 5; x. 12; xi. 13; xiii. 4/3 b; xxvi. 16; xxx. 2, 6, 10.

"which I command (part.) . . . this day," iv. 40; vi. 6; vii. 11; viii. 1 aa, 11; x. 13; xi. 8 a $\beta$ , 13, 27, 28; xiii. 19/18; xv. 5; xix. 9; xxvii. 1, 4 a, 10; xxviii. 1, 13, 14\*, 15; xxx. 2, 8, 11, 16.

"great," in a rhetorical usage, with one or more other adjectives, i. 19, 28; ii. (10, 21); iv. 38; vi. 10, 22; vii. 21; viii. 15; ix. 1 (*bis*), 2; x. 17, 21; xi. 23; xxvi. 5; xxviii. 59.

"dispossess" (יָרַשׁ, *yarash*), ii. (12, 21, 22); ix. 1; xi. 23; xii. 2, 29 (*bis*); xviii. 14; xix. 1; xxxi. 3.

"deliver to," lit. "give before," i. 8, 21; ii. (31, 33, 36); vii. 2, 23; xxiii. 15/14; xxviii. 7, 25; xxxi. 5.

"swear," of the promise of the land, etc., i. 8, 35; iv. 31; vi. 10, 18, 23; vii. 8 a, 12 b, 13; viii. 1 b, 18; ix. 5; x. 11; xi. 9, 21; xiii. 18/17; xix. 8; xxvi. 3, 15; xxviii. 9, 11; xxix. 12/13; xxx. 20; xxxi. (7, 20, 21, 23). See also xxxiv. (4).

"observe," of commands, etc., iv. 2, 40; v. 10, 26/29; vi. 2, 17 a; vii. 9, 11; viii. 2, 6, 11; x. 13; xi. 1, 8 aa, 22; xii. 28; xiii. 5/4, 19/18; xvii. (19); xix. 9; xxvi. 17, 18; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 9, 45; xxix. 8/9; xxx. 10, 16.

"serve" and "worship," or "worship" and "serve," "other gods," iv. 19; v. 9; viii. 19 a; xi. 16; xvii. 3; xxix. 25/26; xxx. 17.

"observe and do," iv. 6; vii. 12 a; xvi. 12; xxiii. 24/23; xxiv. 8 a; xxvi. 16; xxviii. 13; xxix. 8/9.

"the soil" (אֲדָמָה, *'adhamah*), for Palestine, iv. 40; v. 16; vii. 13; xi. 9, 21; xxv. 15; xxvi. 10, 15; xxviii. 11, 21, 63 ba; xxx. 18 ba, 20; xxxi. 13 (21); xxxii. 47.

"all Israel," i. (1); v. 1; xi. 6; xiii. 12/11; xxi. 21; xxvii. 9; xxix. 1/2; xxxi. 1 (7), 11 (*bis*); xxxii. 45; also xxxiv. (12).

"refuse," lit. "not be willing," i. 26; ii. 30; x. 10; xxiii. 6/5; xxv. (7); xxix. 19. See also xiii. 9/8.

"do" (*ʿasah*) without "keep" (*shamar*), i. 18; iv. 1, 5, 13, 14; v. 24/27, 28/31; vi. 1, 24; xvii. 10, 11; xxiv. 18, 22; xxvi. 14, 16; xxvii. 10, 26; xxix. 28/29; xxx. 8, 12, 13, 14.

"great," in a rhetorical usage, alone, ii. 7; iv. 6, 7, 8, 32, 34\*, 36, 37; v. 19/22, 22/25; vii. 19, 23; ix. 29; xi. 7; xviii. 16; xxvi. 8; xxix. 2/3 (*bis*), 23/24, 27/28; also xxxiv. (12).

"to possess it," of the land of promise, iii. 18; iv. 5, 14, 26; v. 28/31; vi. 1; vii. 1; xi. 8 b, 10 a $\alpha$ , 11, 29; xii. 1 a $\beta$ ; xv. 4; xix. 2; xxi. 1; xxiii. 21/20; xxv. 19; xxviii. 21, 63 b $\beta$ ; xxx. 16, 18 b $\beta$ ; xxxi. 13; xxxii. 47.

"listen to" (*אָל*), iii. 26; iv. 1; ix. 19; x. 10; xi. 13, 27, 28; xiii. 4/3, 9/8; xvii. 12; xviii. 14, 15 b, 19; xxi. 18; xxiii. 6/5; xxviii. 13.

"destroy" (*שָׁמַד*, *shamadh*, III.), active, i. 27; ii. (12, 21, 23); iv. 3 b; vi. 15; vii. 4 b $\beta$ , 24; ix. 3, 8, 14, 19, 20, 25; xxviii. 48, 63 a; xxxi. 3, 4.

"bring forth," of the Exodus, i. 27; iv. 20, 37; v. 6, 15; vi. 12, 21, 23; vii. 8 a, 19; viii. 14; ix. 12, 26, 28 (*bis*), 29; xiii. 6/5 a\*, 11/10; xvi. 1; xxvi. 8; xxix. 24/25.

"the midst of" (*תּוֹכָה*, *tokh*), iii. (16); iv. 12, 15, 33, 36; v. 4, 19/22, 20/23, 21/24, 23/26; ix. 10; x. 4; xi. 3; xiii. 17/16; xix. 2; xxi. 12; xxii. 2; xxiii. 11/10, 12/11; xxxii. (51 *bis*).

"learn," iv. 10; v. 1; xiv. 23; xvii. (19); xviii. 9; xxxi. 12 b, 13.

"sons of Israel," i. (3); iii. 18; iv. (44, 45, 46); x. (6); xxiv. 7; xxviii. (69/xxix. 1); xxxi. (19 *bis*, 22, 23); xxxii. (49, 51 *bis*). See also xxxiv. (8, 9).

"turn aside to the right or to the left," ii. (27); v. 29/32; xvii. 11 (20); xxviii. 14\*.

"before . . . eyes," in . . . presence, i. 30; iv. 6, 34\*, vi. 22; ix. 17; xxv. 3 (9); xxviii. 31; xxix. 1/2; xxxi. (7); also xxxiv. (12).

"cleave," to Jehovah, iv. 4; x. 20; xi. 22; xiii. 5/4; xxx. 20.

"prolong . . . days," iv. 26, 40; v. 30/33; xi. 9; xvii. (20); xxii. 7; xxx. 18 b $\alpha$ ; xxxii. 47.

"Horeb," i. (2), 6, 19; iv. 10, 15; v. 2; ix. 8; xviii. 16; xxviii. (69/xxix. 1). Comp. xxxiii. 2.

"do that which is evil in the eyes of Jehovah," iv. 25\*; ix. 18; xvii. 2; xxxi. 29.

"dread" (פָּרַח, *'aras*), i. 29; vii. 21; xx. 3; xxxi. 6 a.

"teach," iv. 1, 5, 10, 14; v. 28/31; vi. 1; xi. 19 a; xx. 18; xxxi. (19 a, 22).

This list would not be complete without a statement with reference to names applied to the Deity in Deuteronomy (exclusive of the last two chapters). The state of the case is as follows:

"Jehovah" alone occurs 213 times: 94 times in connection with the singular of the second person, and 100 in connection with the plural; the other 19 cases being doubtful.

"Jehovah," with "God" modified by a possessive pronoun of the second person is used 278 times; the pronoun being singular in 231, and plural in 47, cases.

"Jehovah, God of . . . fathers" occurs 4 times with the singular, and 2 with the plural, of the pronoun of address.

"Jehovah, our God" occurs 23 times: 3 in connection with the singular, and 15 in connection with the plural, of the pronoun of address; with 5 doubtful cases.

"Jehovah, God of our fathers" occurs only xxvi. 7.

"Jehovah, my God" is found iv. 5; xviii. 16; xxvi. 14.

"Jehovah, his God" occurs xvii. (19); xviii. 7.

"Jehovah, God of their fathers" is used xxix. 24/25.

"Lord Jehovah" appears iii. 24; ix. 26.

"God" alone occurs i. 17; iv. 32, 33, 34\*; v. 21/24; ix. 10; xxi. 23; xxv. 18; xxviii. 67 (*his*); xxxii. (15, 18).

The result of the comparison of the language of xxvii. ff. with that of i.-xxvi., then, is, that there are 21 words or phrases in the final chapters (exclusive of xxxiii. and xxxiv.), which may fairly be considered characteristic of the parts of this and one or more of the preceding divisions of the book in which the singular or the plural only of the second person is employed, while there are 87 expressions, besides the names for the Deity cited, which are used with both numbers. This does not seem to promise much for the determination of the question under discussion. Note, however, that in the latter list there are 32 that occur, if at all, but once in one connection or the other, and that 21 of these, with 19 others, are found three or more times as often in one connection as the other. The result when applied to particular passages is even more satisfactory. It appears, *e.g.*, that xxx. 1-17, in which the second person is singular, has 4 expressions ("statutes [fem.] and commands"; "statutes [fem.], commands, and judgments"; "all the work of . . . hands"; "entice") always used with the singular; 3 ("walk in the ways of

Jehovah"; "bless"; "come to possess") found but once with the plural; 4 ("listen to the voice of"; "with all . . . heart," etc.; "which I command . . . this day"; "love") used three or more times as often with the singular as with the plural; 3 ("commands" alone; "blessing" and "curse" contrasted; "command" [col.]) that occur twice as often; and 1 ("to possess it") that occurs but about a third oftener; while there is only a single expression, and that an infrequent one ("multiply"), that is oftener found in Deuteronomy with the plural than with the singular. Furthermore, in this passage the name "Jehovah thy God" is employed 15, and "Jehovah" only 3, times. On the other hand, xxxi. 27 b-30, in which the second person is plural, has 2 expressions ("rebel"; "call to witness") always found in connection with the plural pronoun; 1 ("provoke") of which there is no clear case with the singular; 2 ("officers"; "do evil in the eyes of Jehovah") only once used with the singular; 1 ("assembly") found but 2 in 11 times with the singular; and only 1, and that not generally recognized as properly Deuteronomic ("elders"), that occurs with the singular oftener than with the plural. In this passage, moreover, "Jehovah" (2) is the only name for the Deity employed.<sup>27</sup>

The material evidence adducible in support of the testimony of the language in this division is not abundant. Here, however, as in the previous chapters, in connection with hostile references to idolatry the second person is usually in the plural. This is the case in xxviii. 14\* and xxix. 16/17 f. and 24/25 f. The only exception is xxx. 17, which will be explained hereafter.<sup>28</sup> In addition, it should be noted that, although xxxi. 27 a has the singular, the extended arraignment which follows has the plural, like i. 20 ff., iv. 21 f., and ix. 8 ff.

## II.

The results thus far obtained seem to warrant the conclusion, at least provisionally, that two or more writers contributed to the contents of the book of Deuteronomy; and that one of its authors

<sup>27</sup> The outcome is equally interesting and instructive when limited passages from the other divisions of the book are treated in a similar way. See, e.g., iv. 30-40, vii. 12 b-24, and xv., with the singular, and iv. 1-18 (exc. 3 b and 9 f.), ix. 8-29, and xx. 2-9, with the plural.

<sup>28</sup> The references to foreign gods in xxviii. 36 and 64, and xxxi. (16, 18, and 20) are neglected, because the first two have a different sense, and the rest must, for the present, remain among the doubtful passages.

used the singular of the second person where the other (or others) habitually employed the plural. The analogy of the case of the preceding books gives ground for supposing that the latter of these writers belongs to a later date than the former; and there is evidence in Deuteronomy itself to support this hypothesis. If, now, he was acquainted with the work of his predecessor, and especially if, as there are also reasons for believing, his relation to his predecessor was that of an editor, reviser, and supplementer, he would naturally, now and then, himself employ the singular: most frequently in brief interpolations, at the beginning or end of more extended additions, and in expressions borrowed from the original author. These possibilities will be taken into account in the final analysis now to be attempted. Nor are they the only ones to be considered. The occurrence of a plural sometimes in the midst of a succession of singulars raises the question whether the reviser, if he may be so called, did not occasionally through inadvertence change a singular of the original into a plural; or a copyist make this or the opposite mistake in transcribing the book since its completion. In the former case the content of the given passage ought to be helpful in determining its author; in the latter the Versions may be expected, sometimes at least, to be of service. Of course, at this late date one cannot hope to reach a perfectly satisfactory solution of the problem presented.

The portions of i.-iv. in which the singular of the second person is clearly used for the plural are: i. 21, 31 a; ii. 7, 25, 30; iii. 21\*; iv. 3 b, 9 f., 19, 21 b, 23 b $\beta$ -24, 25\*, 29 a\*, 29 b-33, 34\*, 35-40. Some of these passages doubtless belonged to the original introduction to Deuteronomy. There are some of them, however, which, despite this peculiarity, will have to be referred to a different source. The first cited, i. 21, belongs to the former class. The reasons for thus disposing of it are: that it interrupts the connection between *vv.* 20 and 22, and that its language is such as is generally found in connection with the singular of the second person. See "Jehovah thy God" and "the God of thy fathers," "deliver to" and "as Jehovah . . . said." Note also, in the phrase "fear not, neither be dismayed," the absence of the verb "dread." See *v.* 29. Finally the term "go up" is significant. The author who uses the plural of the second person would have said "cross over," since his standpoint is clearly in the land of Moab. The testimony of the Greek Version, which here has the plural, cannot therefore be regarded as of importance. With ii. 30 it is different. In this case the Greek Version has "our," instead of "your," "God," — doubtless, in view of its use



in (29) and (33), the correct reading. "Thy hand," therefore, was doubtless originally "our hand," as in iii. (3). The singular in the last clause of iii. 21\* might be explained as indicating that Joshua is here the representative of Israel. The plural is the reading elsewhere found with the verb "pass over." See iv. 14, etc.<sup>29</sup> The latter half of iv. 3\* does not disturb the connection; hence it seems best to explain the use of the singular pronoun as occasioned by the introduction of the borrowed phrase "in thy midst." The form "in your midst" does not occur in Deuteronomy. The fact that iv. 19 is the natural continuation of iv. 9, and that, while the Greek has the singular in both of these verses, it has the plural throughout the intervening passage, makes clear that v. 10, although it has the singular in the original, is merely an introduction, and a rather abrupt one, to the description that follows. The reference to Horeb and the occurrence of the expression "teach" point to the same conclusion. The case of iv. 21 b seems to be the same as that of iv. 3 b. The awkwardness of the construction in iv. 23 b $\beta$  indicates that it also is a reminiscence. See ii. (37). The singular in iv. 25\* is so evidently, especially in the first case, a transcriber's error, that one is not surprised to find that the Samaritan reading has the plural throughout the verse. Ch. iv. 29\* serves as a joint, but an imperfect one, between the verse preceding and the one that follows. This might be regarded as a sufficient explanation of the use of both numbers; but it is probably better to adopt the reading of the Greek Version, which has the plural<sup>30</sup> except in the familiar expression, "with all thy heart and with all thy soul." Finally, in iv. 34\* the original reading was probably that of the Samaritan Version, "your eyes";<sup>31</sup> the whole verse being an imitation of vii. 19.

The omission of the verses or parts of verses just discussed leaves a series of fragments, presenting common material, as well as linguistic peculiarities; the thought of which, the providential activity of Jehovah in behalf of his people, is calculated to awaken gratitude and secure obedience to the commands to be promulgated. The original introduction to Deuteronomy, therefore, probably consisted of i. 21, 31 a; ii. 7, 25; iv. 9, 19, 24, 30-33, 35-40<sup>32</sup>; together with more or less other material of a similar character.

<sup>29</sup> The Greek has "your eyes" and (twice) "Jehovah our God"; but "thou crossest."

<sup>30</sup> Some codices have "our" for "your" "God."

<sup>31</sup> The "your" of the English Version is a mistake for "thine."

<sup>32</sup> On v. 40, see below.

The question now arises, whether any more such material has been preserved in i.-iv. It would naturally be sought in the passages that have hitherto been treated as doubtful, especially those in which the singular of the second person occurs. See ii. (9, 18 f., 24 a $\beta$ -b, 31) ; iii. (2). But the passages cited, like ii. 30, and unlike ii. 25, clearly belong to the context in which they are found, and ii. and iii. as a whole are evidently a continuation of the detailed review begun in the first chapter. Hence it seems necessary, although some of them have the singular in the Greek as well as in the original, to refer them all to the author who, in that chapter, consistently uses the plural. Perhaps, as was suggested with reference to iii. 21\*, they are cases of a sort of attraction. The assertion that ii. (except *vv.* 7, 25) and iii. are a continuation of i. (except 21 and 31 a), and by the same author, however, must be understood as referring to an earlier form of all these chapters ; for it must be admitted, not only that i. (1-5) betrays the hand of the final compiler of the Hexateuch (Bacon, *Exodus*, 261), but that ii. and iii. also contain more or less post-Deuteronomic material (Dillmann, *Num.*, *Deut.*, *Jos.*, 250).

It is possible, as has been intimated, that fragments of the work of the author who used the singular of the second person may form the basis of some passages, especially of iv., in which the plural now prevails ; but there are no very convincing indications to this effect. If there are any further remains of the original introduction, they must be sought in other parts of the book.<sup>33</sup>

The original element in the second division of Deuteronomy is much larger than in the first. It probably did not, however, include the commandments in v. 6-18/21. The most plausible theory with reference to their origin is, that they were first tabulated about B.C. 650 by the author (or authors) known as E<sup>2</sup>, who substituted them for a decalogue by E, corresponding to that of J in xxxiv. 14 ff. (Bacon, *Exodus*, 156 ff.), now found distributed in Ex. xx.-xxiii. (Kuenen, *Hex.* 244 f. ; Bacon, *Exodus*, 110 ff.). The first two commandments of this Elohist decalogue are probably to be identified with those of Ex. xx. 23 ; or better, perhaps, with the original forms of those in Ex. xx. 3-6.<sup>34</sup> The rest appear in Ex. xx. 24-26, xxii.

<sup>33</sup> If xix. 7 f. is from the earlier author, iv. (41-43) cannot be. The origin of *vv.* (45-49), with their references to the country east of the Jordan and the conquest of it, is apparent ; and v. (44) is probably a mere redundancy.

<sup>34</sup> The reason for the latter supposition is that, while both 3-6 and 23 differ in form from the context following,—the former, in that Jehovah himself rather

28/29-29/30, and xxiii. 10-19\*, or at the beginning and end of the so-called Book of the Covenant, the original position of which was at or near the close of the Elohist document (Kuenen, *Hex.* 258 ff.; Bacon, *Exodus*, 111 f.). If, now, the body of Deuteronomy appeared to have for its basis the Book of the Covenant in this final form, there would be some ground for concluding that the original of the book included the decalogue. This, however, is not the case. It was written, as an examination of the contents of vi.-xvi. will show, while E's decalogue remained intact and retained its position preceding that of the "judgments."<sup>35</sup> It must therefore be older than E<sup>2</sup>, or at least antedate the incorporation of the decalogue, derived from E<sup>2</sup>, which now forms a part of the book. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the Deuteronomic decalogue is framed between two passages, v. 1-5 and 22/25-33/36, which have all the marks of secondary origin, and itself, in vv. 9 f., betrays a lack of unity with the teaching of the original work. See xxiv. 16; comp. Jer. xxxii. 18 (also an interpolation). The occurrence in the decalogue, even in the form in which it appears in Ex. xx., of expressions rare except in Deuteronomy, may be due to imitation; but the fact that in the body of Deuteronomy, although the rest of E's decalogue (Ex. xx. 24-26; etc.) is reproduced in an expanded form, the command respecting the sabbath (Ex. xxiii. 12) is wanting, suggests the possibility that E<sup>2</sup> borrowed the fourth commandment from the Deuteronomist, and that the original of it was dropped when the book was remodelled.<sup>36</sup>

than Moses is the speaker; the latter, in that the plural instead of the singular is used in the second person, — vv. 3-6 and 24 ff. are cast in the same mould.

<sup>35</sup> On Ex. xx. 3 see Deut. vi. 4 ff.; on Ex. xx. 4-6, Deut. vii. 1 ff. and xii. 29 ff.; on Ex. xx. 24 ff., Deut. xii. 13 ff.; on Ex. xxii. 28/29, Deut. xiv. 22 f.; on Ex. xxii. 29/30, Deut. xv. 19 ff.; (on Ex. xxii. 30/31, Deut. xiv. 21 a\*;) on Ex. xxiii. 10 f., Deut. xv. 1 ff.; on Ex. xxiii. 12, Deut. v. 13-15; on Ex. xxiii. 14-16, Deut. xvi. 1-17; on Ex. xxiii. 18, Deut. xvi. 4; on Ex. xxiii. 19 b, Deut. xiv. 21 b. Comp. Bacon, *Exodus*, 332 f.

<sup>36</sup> In the Samaritan Pentateuch the last commandment, both in Exodus and in Deuteronomy, is followed by a passage apparently adapted from Deut. xxvii. 2-7 + xi. 30: And it shall come to pass, when Jehovah thy God shall bring thee to the land of the Canaanite, whither thou art coming to possess it, thou shalt set thyself up great stones, and coat them with lime; and thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law. *And it shall come to pass, when ye cross the Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mount Gerizim.* And thou shalt build there an altar to Jehovah thy God, an altar of stones, — thou shalt not wield upon them a tool; of rough stones shalt thou build the altar of Jehovah thy God, — and thou shalt offer upon it burnt offerings to

The first verse of chapter vi. is an echo of v. 28/31. Naturally, it has the plural in the second person, and two or three other forms of expression that are generally found in connection with it. The evident intent of the author is to represent what follows as, in substance at least, the instructions received by Moses in Horeb. The contents of chapters v.-xi., however, sometimes betray a different standpoint; e.g. in viii. 2-4, where the date is the fortieth year after the Exodus. Nor can this objection be met by calling these chapters a sermon on the first commandment (Driver, *Deut.* xx.) ; the fact being that the passages which would seem to warrant such a description are mostly interpolations. This introductory verse, therefore, must also be the work of a reviser. Steuernagel (*Rahmen*, 10) refers the next two verses to the same source, because, he thinks, they have an excess of Deuteronomic formulae ; but the point is not well taken. If it had been the reviser's object to imitate his predecessor, he would have begun with the first verse. There is more reason for believing that these verses, in an abbreviated form, once closed the introduction to the book, and that iv. 40 was substituted for them by the reviser.<sup>37</sup>

The second part, or division, of Deuteronomy, then, really begins, and appropriately, with "Hear, O Israel," vi. 4. The Greek Version prefixes to this verse a formal title, "And these are the statutes and judgments which the Lord commanded the sons of Israel in the desert, when they went forth from Egypt," whose author, if not the original Deuteronomist, agrees with him in laying the scene of the promulgation of Moses' final instructions, not with the reviser, on the bank of the Jordan, but at some point nearer Mount Horeb. See i. 21.

Jehovah thy God, and sacrifice peace offerings; and thou shalt eat there, and rejoice before Jehovah thy God. *That mountain is beyond the Jordan, west of the western highway, in the land of the Canaanite that dwelleth in the Arabah over against Gilgal, beside Elon-more, over against Shekem.*

<sup>37</sup> The use of different genders for the Hebrew term for "statute" in vv. 1 and 2 is significant. To be sure, the order "statutes and commands" is not the one elsewhere found with the feminine, but this change, like the insertion of the clause, "and that ye may increase greatly," in v. 3 a\*, may safely be attributed to the reviser. Perhaps it was he, too, who omitted "this day" after "which I command thee," the reading to be expected with the singular pronoun, and the one actually found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Samaritans, however, it should be noted, read "that thou mayest increase," the singular instead of the plural. The last clause of v. 3\*, also, is an accretion. The ground for suspecting the originality of iv. 40 is that it has the masculine form of the Hebrew word for "statute" and uses the verb "prolong" in the active rather than the passive voice.

The second section, *vv.* 4-9, entire, seems to have belonged to the original document; and the third, *vv.* 10-15\*, except *v.* 14, which is evidently an interpolation.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, *vv.* 16-19\*, except 18, in which "thy God" should be inserted after "Jehovah,"<sup>39</sup> bear the editorial impress. The reference to Massah is significant. The final section, *vv.* 20-25\*, at first sight strikes one as original; but on closer examination the aspect of the case changes, for it appears that the plural occurs in *v.* 20\*, that the passage contains two or three expressions—*e.g.* "statutes" as a masculine noun, "with a mighty hand"<sup>40</sup> alone, and "Jehovah" alone or with "our God"—which are elsewhere regularly or exclusively used with the plural, and that, finally, it has the peculiar form of *Ex.* xii. 26 f. and xiii. 14 f., one of which has the plural and the other the singular, while both are recognized (*Bacon, Exodus*, 62, 66) as editorial additions to older materials.

The omission of these verses creates no disturbance, since vii. 1 connects quite as well with vi. 18 as with 25. The original Deuteronomist proceeds with instructions concerning the attitude of the chosen people toward idolaters. The first three verses of chapter vii., except perhaps the list of the tribes of Canaan, are from his hand.

Bacon (*Exodus*, 22) attributes the insertion of such lists in *Exodus* (iii. 8, 17; xiii. 5; xxiii. 23, 28; xxxiii. 2; xxxiv. 11) to Rd. If this view is correct, it seems to forbid the identification of the Deuteronomic Redactor with the author of the parts of *Deut.* i.-iv. in which the plural of the pronoun of the second person is found, since the latter uses the term "Amorite" of the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, and not of any portion of them. On the other hand, the occurrence of these names, excepting that of the Gergashite, in the same order as in *Deut.* vii. 1, not only in *Deut.* xx. 17 but in *Jos.* ix. 1 and xii. 8, appears to point in the opposite direction. The matter is complicated by the fact that the names are all found in *Jos.* iii. 10 and xxiv. 11, six of them in *Jud.* iii. 5, *Neh.* ix. 8, and five of them in 1 *Kgs.* ix. 20 and 2 *Chr.* viii. 7, always in a different order, and in the last instance only in that of the passage now under consideration. See also *Gen.* xv. 20 f. and *Ezra* ix. 1. On the whole it seems safest to conclude, either that the list here given belonged to the original document and that the others found in Deuteronomy

<sup>38</sup> In *v.* 12, for "Jehovah" read "Jehovah thy God," as in the Samaritan text; also in the Greek and Syriac Versions.

<sup>39</sup> So in the Greek and Syriac Versions as well as in the text of the Samaritans.

<sup>40</sup> The Greek completes the expression.

and Joshua are comparatively late reproductions, or that they were all interpolated after the Deuteronomic redaction of the Hexateuch.

The connection between *vv.* 3 and 4\* is not unnatural, but the appearance of the plural and "Jehovah," with the mention of "other gods" in *v.* 4\* and a command to destroy all symbols of idolatry in *v.* 5, indicates that *v.* 6 is the original continuation of the discourse. See "a holy people" and "a peculiar people." For a like reason *vv.* 7-8 a must be omitted and 8 b, beginning with "and redeemed thee,"<sup>41</sup> attached immediately to *v.* 6. The next verse is probably original, perhaps also *v.* 10; but 12 a is not, and the accumulation of terms for the instructions to be promulgated, found elsewhere (*v.* 28/31; *vi.* 1) only with the plural of the second person, in *v.* 11 seems to warrant its omission. The apparent break thus produced is remedied by substituting "and," the literal rendering, for the "that" of 12 b. The English Version would lead one to suspect *vv.* 14 f.; but the original has the singular throughout *v.* 14, and the Greek has "thy God" after the divine name in the one following. The discrepancy between *v.* 22 and its context is apparent. The first half of *v.* 25\* betrays its origin both by its form and its content. The rest of the chapter, however, does not necessarily go with it. In fact, the story of Achan (*Jos.* vii.) makes it more than probable that the gold and silver originally meant consisted of the ornaments of the conquered kings and not of the precious materials of their idols. See also *Jud.* viii. 26.

The first verse of chapter viii., although it contains one or two expressions regularly found in connection with the singular of the second person, must be referred to the reviser. See, in addition to the plural,<sup>42</sup> "observe to do," "multiply," and "Jehovah" without the familiar designation "thy God." The same is the case with the last two verses. The rest of the chapter is in the tone and style of the original Deuteronomist.<sup>43</sup>

The plural does not occur in the first six verses of chapter ix., but, as might have been expected from the fact that they are followed by a long interpolation, there are other indications that they have been more or less modified by the reviser. Here, as in xxx. 18\*, the awkward phrase "cross the Jordan to come to possess" in *v.* 1 is

<sup>41</sup> The "you" of the English version is incorrect.

<sup>42</sup> The Greek has the plural throughout.

<sup>43</sup> The only other verse whose originality might be questioned is 11; but be it observed that the word "statutes" here is feminine. On the usage with reference to the series of nouns to which it belongs, see xi. 1; xxx. 16.

doubtless his work. The original must have been, "thou art coming to possess." The last clause of this verse and the first of the next are repeated from i. 28. The peculiar expression "sons of Anaks," for "sons of Anak," once in *v.* 2, is easily explained as the mistake of a writer who habitually called the people in question "Anaks" or Anakites (ii. (10), etc.). In *v.* 3 the phrase "he is . . . fire" and probably the whole of *b* are of secondary origin. Of the two parallels, 4 *b* and 5, the latter has the stronger claim to originality.<sup>44</sup> At this point a transition was to be expected, but the one made by means of *v.* 6 seems almost too violent. Since, now, all that follows as far as x. 12 is foreign to its present context, and this verse attaches itself naturally to ix. 5, one can hardly resist the conclusion that the two were originally connected. See also the plural, from ix. 7 *b* onward, except in two instances. The interpolated passage is itself interrupted by the insertion of a fragment of the itinerary of the Hebrews just before and after the death of Aaron (x. 6 f.).<sup>45</sup> Then the story of the renewal of the covenant at Horeb is resumed. The connection of x. 8-11 with the first five verses of the chapter is apparent. The Greek is therefore undoubtedly correct in substituting a pronominal subject for "Jehovah thy God" in x. 9 and "you" for "thee" in the verse following.

The last section of chapter x. is not a unit. The first verse (12) openly proclaims its author; the next also in the Greek and Samaritan reading, which has "Jehovah thy God," as one would expect in the connection. They doubtless belonged to the original document. The verse following (14), however, in spite of the fact that it uses the singular of the second person and has the divine name employed in the first two, should probably be referred to the reviser, because it breaks the thread of the discourse to introduce the precepts and reflections, clearly different in form and content, of *vv.* 15 *a*, 15 *b*-19. After this interruption the discourse proceeds in the older tone and style to the end of the chapter (*vv.* 20-22); or, rather, to xi. 1, for it, and not x. 22, is the conclusion of the paragraph.

The remainder of chapter xi. abounds in traces of the reviser's activity. In *vv.* 2-9\* the singular pronoun occurs but once (*v.* 8\*), and then, as both the Greek and the Samaritan reading testify, as a copyist's error. The divine name is "Jehovah," or, once (*v.* 2),

<sup>44</sup> The Samaritan text in this verse, however, wants "thy God" after the first "Jehovah," and, with the Syriac Version, omits the second divine name altogether.

<sup>45</sup> In the Samaritan Pentateuch this fragment is longer and agrees substantially with Num. xxxiii. 30 b-38.

"Jehovah your God." See also "greatness" (*v.* 2), "eyes that see" (*v.* 7), "go over to possess" (*v.* 8\*), and "prolong . . . days" (*v.* 9).<sup>46</sup>

The next verse is probably original, the plural being a copyist's error; <sup>47</sup> but *v.* 11 is, in part at least, from the hand of the reviser. The relative clause "whither ye cross to possess it" is characteristic of him, and its omission would be an improvement. In *v.* 12 the name "Jehovah thy God" is the only clue that offers itself, and it, of course, would lead one to attribute the whole verse to the original Deuteronomist. If, however, these three verses, with the exception noted, are the work of this author, they were not intended for their present setting. They cannot be connected with *v.* 1 as well as with *v.* 9. Hence it is necessary to suppose that they have for some reason been removed from their original connection. Where they at first stood it may be impossible to determine. It was perhaps a position such as that after vii. 13, or after *v.* 16 of chapter xxx.

In the present text *v.* 13 begins a new paragraph; but this verse seems to be an interpolation, and the next two, in the form found in the Samaritan Pentateuch,<sup>48</sup> — with "thy land" in *v.* 14\*, and "he will give" in both of them, — a further development of the thought of *vv.* 10–12\*. See viii. 7–10. Then comes a warning against idolatry after the manner of the reviser (*vv.* 16 f.), and an exhortation to obedience with a presentation of its rewards (*vv.* 18–25\*), in which he quotes almost literally <sup>49</sup> vi. 7 and 9, and otherwise shows his familiarity with the work of his predecessor.<sup>50</sup> The rest of the chapter was evidently intended for a conclusion to chapters v.–xi.; but the connection is forced and imperfect, since there is no preceding "blessing" or "curse," in the sense of *v.* 26, to which the author can have referred. The form and content are probably to be explained by supposing that *v.* 29, and perhaps *v.* 30, originally, as Dillmann (*Num.*, *Deut.*, *Jos.*, 288 f.) suggests, formed a part of the Elohist fragment preserved in xxvii. 1–8\*; and that the remaining

<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to note that in *v.* 8\* the Samaritans read "come to possess" twice, while the Greek version not only has the equivalent of "cross to possess," but inserts "the Jordan" after the verb.

<sup>47</sup> The error supposed is a frequent one in the Hebrew Scriptures, being a case of dittography. Here the scribe for צאת מֶשֶׁם wrote צאתם מֶשֶׁם.

<sup>48</sup> The first person referring to Jehovah occurs also vii. 4\*; xvii. 3; xxviii. 20; xxix. 4/5 f.\*.

<sup>49</sup> Note the substitution of לִמַּד, *teach*, for שָׁנַן, *impress*, in *v.* 19.

<sup>50</sup> The parallelism between *vv.* 10 ff.\* and viii. 7 ff. suggests the possibility that the former passage is merely an imitation of the latter, in other words, that chapter xi. as far as *v.* 25 is entirely of secondary origin.



verses, with not only the plural of the second person, but other marks of a later style ("cross the Jordan," etc.; "observe to do"; "statutes," masc.), are the setting provided for them by the writer who gave the book its present arrangement.

The following, then, are the passages in v.-xi. which may with more or less confidence be attributed to the first Deuteronomist: vi. 2, 3 (in part), 4-13, 15, 18; vii. 1-3 (except the list of nations), 6, 8 b-9, 10(?), 12 b-21, 23 f., 25 b-26; viii. 2-18; ix. 1-3 a (in part), 4 a, 5; x. 12 f., 20-22; xi. 1, 10-12 (in part), 14 f. (in part), 29, 30(?); the conclusion reached with reference to their relation to one another being, that, although those from xi. 2 ff. may have suffered displacement, the rest seem to constitute an almost continuous discourse.

The third and main division of Deuteronomy, xii.-xxvi., has a separate title, xii. 1\*, in which both numbers of the second person are used; but, as has been explained in another connection (p. 68), the singulars here and in vv. 5\*, 7\*, and 9\*<sup>51</sup> are either copyists' errors or illustrations of the familiarity of the author of vv. 1-12\* with the style of the original Deuteronomist.<sup>52</sup> The identity of the author is unmistakable. He is the same whose hostility to idols appears in iv. 15-18; vii. 5; etc. The rest of the chapter (vv. 13-31) covers the same ground as the first twelve verses.<sup>53</sup> It has the singular pronoun, except (once) in v. 16\*, which seems to have been borrowed from vv. 23 f. and inserted where it now stands to bring the provision to which it is attached into closer harmony with the fuller law on the same subject;<sup>54</sup> and the remaining linguistic features are such as would be expected in the connection. See "within thy gates" (15, 17, 18, 21); "all the desire of thy soul" (15, 20, 21);

<sup>51</sup> In v. 9 the English should be "thy God giveth thee."

<sup>52</sup> The singular in the last clause of v. 5\* seems to have been suggested by the same form of the word *come* (not *go*) in v. 26; but since, in the former case, both the Greek Version and the Samaritan Pentateuch have the plural, perhaps the singular is here a scribal error. The Greek has the plural instead of the singular in v. 1\* also.

<sup>53</sup> Cornill (*Einleitung*, 24) claims that vv. 15-19 and vv. 20-28 are duplicates. This, however, is not the case; for, vv. 13-19 are a law concerning offerings with a provision (v. 15) respecting animals slaughtered for food, while vv. 20-28 are a corresponding law concerning the slaughter of animals for food with a similar provision (vv. 26 f.) on the subject of offerings.

<sup>54</sup> Here the Samaritan reading is singular, but the Greek has the plural throughout the verse.

"thou art not able" ("mayest not," 17); "thy corn," etc. (17); "thou, and thy son," etc. (18); "that which is right," etc. (25, 28); "abomination to Jehovah" (31).<sup>55</sup> These verses, therefore, must have been a part of the original document. Did they form the opening paragraphs of the "statutes," "judgments," and "commandments" for which xi. 1 seems to have been intended to prepare the reader? It is not impossible, since such a beginning would not be more abrupt than that of the "judgments" of Ex. xxi. ff.; but the fact that chapters xii.-xvi. are largely based on the terms of the covenant at Horeb, and that this covenant, according to E (Ex. xx. 3 f.) as well as J (xxxiv. 14, 17), began with the requirement to eschew the worship of all gods but Jehovah, makes it more probable that the Deuteronomic Code originally began with vv. 29-31, and that these verses were removed to their present position by the reviser to make room for a more radical protest against idolatry. This hypothesis seems to be favored by xiii. 1\* (Eng. xii. 32\*), which, since it twice has the plural for the singular, may be regarded as an emphatic repetition of the command already given in v. 28.<sup>56</sup>

Chapter xiii. is devoted to instructions concerning the treatment of those who tempt Israel to apostasy. The first paragraph has the singular in vv. 2/1-4/3 a. Then comes an explanation with the plural (vv. 4/3 b-5/4), which, since it also disturbs the connection, is probably an interpolation.<sup>57</sup> The thought of the original author is completed by v. 6/5\*, in which, as appears from v. 11/10, the plural (twice) is probably a copyist's mistake for the singular.<sup>58</sup> See also the expressions "redeem," "house of servants," and "entice" ("draw away"). In the second paragraph v. 8/7\* has the plural in only one instance, but the language in other features, as well as the content of the verse, indicates that it also is an interpolation. The rest of the

<sup>55</sup> The omission of "thy God" after "Jehovah" 5 times (vv. 14, 21, 25, 26, 31) is probably the fault of copyists. At any rate, in all these cases except the last the Greek Version has the missing phrase.

<sup>56</sup> The Greek has sometimes the plural, sometimes the singular, in xiii. 1\*/xii. 32\*.

<sup>57</sup> If it be objected that this supposed interpolation abounds in genuinely Deuteronomic expressions, the reply is, that here, as in xii. 1 ff.\*, the number of these expressions excites suspicion, and slight variations from the phraseology of passages whose originality is unquestioned create the impression that this one is a product of imitation. See the phrase "go after," instead of "go in the ways of," "Jehovah"; also the term "cleave," which is more frequent with the plural than with the singular of the second person.

<sup>58</sup> The Greek has the singular throughout the verse.

passage is probably original. See "be willing" ("consent," 9/8), "eye shall not spare" (9/8), "entice" (11/10), "house of servants" (11/10), "hear and fear" (12/11), "in thy midst" (12/11). The only plural in the third paragraph (*v.* 14/13\*), to judge from *vv.* 3/2 and 7/6, is due to the carelessness of a transcriber. See, in this verse, "from thy midst" and "enticed"; also "thoroughly" (15/14), "sware to thy fathers" (18/17), "hearken to the voice of" (19/18), "which I command," etc. (19/18), "that which is right," etc. (19/18).

The prohibition with which chapter xiv. begins, in view of the fact that the mutilation of the hair seems not to have been condemned by Jeremiah (xvi. 5 ff.), is probably an interpolation. The next verse is a repetition of vii. 6, but an appropriate close to chapter xiii. The regulations concerning clean and unclean animals begin and end with fragments which have the singular pronoun and other marks of an earlier origin ("abomination," 3; "within thy gates," "foreigner," "a holy people," 21), separated by a list of animals (found, with variations, in Lev. xi.) which has the plural pronoun, but nothing else in common with either the original of Deuteronomy or the majority of the additions to it. The rest of the chapter, except perhaps 23 b, which seems far-fetched in this connection, has all the marks of the older style ("eat before Jehovah," 23, 26; "which he shall choose," etc., 23, 24, 25; "thy corn," etc., 23; "within thy gates," 27, 28, 29; "portion nor inheritance," 27, 29; "the Levite," with "the stranger," etc., 29; "eat and be satisfied," 29; "that Jehovah may bless thee," etc., 29); as one would expect from the fact that the centralization of worship at Jerusalem is evidently the main purpose of its author.

The originality of chapter xv. as a whole is unassailable. It has the singular pronoun throughout. See also "foreigner," 3; "bless thee," 4, 6, 10, 14, 18; "giveth thee as an inheritance," 4; "hearken to the voice of Jehovah," 5; "which I command thee this day," 5; "within thy gates," 7, 22; "it be sin," 9; "every endeavor of thy hand," 10; "therefore I command thee," 11, 15; "a servant in the land of Egypt," "redeemed thee," 15; and "eat before Jehovah," 20. The law concerning Hebrew slaves (*vv.* 12-18) is especially interesting as an example of the bearing of the principle of concentration on the religious customs of the Hebrews. Those that could not be transferred to the central sanctuary were simply secularized. See *v.* 17; also xix. 1 ff.

The authorship of *vv.* 4-6 alone is doubtful. Steuernagel pronounces the whole passage an interpolation (*Entstehung*, 41). Dillmann (*Num.*,

*Deut.*, *Jos.*) and others undertake to defend its originality; but their reasons are not convincing. The truth seems to lie between these two extremes. It is difficult to believe that 4 a and 11 a were written by the same author. Of the two 11 a appears to have the stronger claim to a place in the original text. If, however, 4 a is referred to a later date, v. 5 and 6 a must go with it. See "observe to do" in v. 5. The remainder is a consistent discourse, in which 4 b and 6 b unite to furnish an explanation of the reference, in 3 a, to loans to foreigners.<sup>59</sup>

The first paragraph of chapter xvi. treats the feasts of passover and unleavened bread as one, giving the greater prominence to the paschal element. If this is the original form of the law, it is strange that in v. 16 the dual feast should be called simply the feast of unleavened bread. The passage, as its structure would indicate, has probably been recast,<sup>60</sup> but it is difficult to restore it to its primitive form. The doubtful words and phrases are in the latter part of it. See especially "turn and go" (v. 7), an expression the like of which is elsewhere always accompanied by the plural.<sup>61</sup> The regulations concerning the other two feasts seem to have retained their original form.<sup>62</sup> So, also, vv. 18-20, except that in v. 18 the word "officers," elsewhere always with the plural, has been inserted. The last paragraph, however, can hardly be in its original position, which would naturally be immediately before xvii. 8. Perhaps, as Dillmann suggests, the last two verses of this chapter and the first seven of the next belong at the beginning of chapter xiii. Comp. Staerk, *Deut.*, 114. Only three of the expressions cited from the preceding chapter occur in this one ("within thy gates," 5, 11, 18; "bless thee," 10, 15; "a servant in Egypt," 12), but the places of those that are missing are filled by others equally characteristic of the original

<sup>59</sup> In v. 4 the Samaritan reading has "thy God" after the first as well as the second "Jehovah." See also the Greek Version.

<sup>60</sup> It reverses the natural order of treatment, and presents discrepancies hardly attributable to a single author. Compare the simplicity and straightforwardness of the other portions of the chapter.

<sup>61</sup> The difficulty of the text is unnecessarily increased by rendering עֲשֵׂת in v. 8 "a solemn assembly," as even Driver insists upon doing. The word is here, as in Am. v. 21, a synonym for חַג, "festival," which actually occurs in the parallel passage in Exodus (xiii. 6), and, indeed, is the reading of Samaritan codices in this instance. In v. 2 read, with the Greek and the Samaritans, for "Jehovah," "Jehovah thy God."

<sup>62</sup> In v. 15, for "Jehovah," read "Jehovah thy God" with both the Greek and the Samaritan codices.

author. See "place which Jehovah shall choose" (2, 7, 11, 15, 16); "remember," of the Exodus (3); "all the days of thy life" (3); "rejoice before Jehovah" (11); "in thy midst" (11); "thy son," etc. (11, 14); "the Levite," with "the stranger," etc. (11, 14); "all the work of thy hands" (15); "which Jehovah . . . giveth thee" (20).<sup>63</sup>

In xvii. 2-7 there are several expressions that are regularly found in connection with the singular; viz.: "in the midst of thee" (2); "thy gates" (2); "thoroughly" (4); "put away evil" (7); "from thy midst" (7). See also "the host of heaven," as in iv. 19. It is therefore probable that the whole paragraph belonged to the original of Deuteronomy. The only part of it that excites suspicion is 2 b-3 a, and the phraseology of this passage can be explained without the necessity of attributing it to a reviser.<sup>64</sup>

The next paragraph is certainly, as a whole, original. The only question concerns the persons to whom is entrusted the administration of justice at the capital; but this is difficult of solution. In v. 9 they are the Levitical priests and the ruling judge; in v. 12 the former seem to be represented by their head. Both readings can hardly be original. Of the two "the priest" has most in its favor; for it occurs in an undoubtedly original passage (xxvi. 3), while there is reason for suspecting that "the priests, the Levites" and "the priests, the sons of Levi" betray the reviser. See especially xxi. 5; xxiv. 8\*. Moreover, judging from xxvi. 3, it is probable that the priest was the only authority mentioned in the passage,<sup>65</sup> and that he, not a civil official, was the one originally described by the

<sup>63</sup> It is possible that 12 b is an addition to the law concerning the feast of weeks. The connection with vv. 9-11 is doubtful, and so are the expressions "observe and do" and "statutes" (masc.). Perhaps the whole verse should be attributed to the reviser, the first half being a quotation.

<sup>64</sup> The expression "that which is evil in the eyes of Jehovah" is elsewhere accompanied by the plural, but in all the other cases it is followed by "to provoke him to anger." The omission of the latter phrase in this case seems to permit the supposition that the former is here original, like "that which is right" in vi. 18; etc. The phrase "transgressing his covenant," also, at first sight seems to betray a later hand; but Jos. vii. 11 and 15 indicate that the writer here refers to the covenant reported by J and E, and not to the one according to later witnesses based on the ten commandments. Comp. iv. 13; etc. The expression "which I commanded not," too, reminds one of Jos. vii. 11. The phrase "other gods" occurs as often with the singular as with the plural.

<sup>65</sup> This supposition does not require the change of the verbs in the verses following from the plural to the singular. See xxv. 1.

clause, according to the Greek found also in *v.* 12, "who may be in those days."<sup>66</sup>

The law concerning the king is by some critics (Cornill, *Einleitung*, 25 f.; Steuernagel, *Entstehung*, 60 f.) attributed to D<sup>2</sup>; and there can be little doubt that parts of it belong to the later strata of Deuteronomy. Such a passage is *v.* 16\* (except the first clause), as the plural of the second person, even if the connection were perfect, would indicate. In *vv.* 18-20 this criterion cannot be applied, because the second person is not used; but there are other marks that make the originality of these verses at least doubtful. They have but one expression, "all the days of . . . life" (19), elsewhere always used with the singular; while there are several that are either doubtful, like "the priests the Levites" (18), "learn to fear" (19), and "turn . . . to the right or to the left" (20), or, like "this law" (18, 19) and "prolong . . . days" (20), more frequent in the later than in the earlier style. Other expressions in *vv.* 14-17\* favoring their originality are, "come unto the land," etc. (14), and "whom Jehovah thy God shall choose" (15).

The first paragraph of chapter xviii. is clearly composite. In the first three verses, except where the officiating priest is referred to, the subject is plural, while in the last two it is a collective. (See Driver.) Nor can there be any doubt about the relative age of the two sections. The second is the one that agrees with all the previous references to the priesthood and attaches it naturally to the verses following (6-8). This, however, needs an introduction like 1a, which, therefore, with "the Levite" instead of the present clumsy designation, probably belonged to the original. The rest of this verse and the two following are a later addition evidently made in the interest of the sacerdotal order.

The second paragraph, as has already been intimated, belonged to the original work. See "thy gates," "all the desire of his soul," and "the place," etc. (6).

The final paragraph, *vv.* 9-22\*, has the singular of the second person without exception as far as the last clause of *v.* 15\*, and the remaining indications seem to point to the original Deuteronomist as the author of most of the passage. See, in addition to "Jehovah thy God" (*passim*),<sup>67</sup> "come to the land" (9) and "an abomination to Jehovah" (12). The last clause of *v.* 15\* has the plural pronoun.

<sup>66</sup> In *v.* 10 the Greek version and the Samaritans have "Jehovah thy God."

<sup>67</sup> In *v.* 12a this should be the reading according to both the Greek and the Samaritans.

The change might be explained as merely a copyist's error if the next verse did not introduce a reference to the scene at Horeb (*vv.* 16–20), in allusions to which the second person has thus far always been plural. See *iv.* 10 ff.\*; *v.* 19/22 ff.; *ix.* 8 ff. The natural inference from these facts is, that *vv.* 16–20 are by a later hand; and since *vv.* 14 f.\* and 21 f. are more closely connected with them than they are with *vv.* 9–13, it seems best to refer all that concerns the prophet to the same author.<sup>68</sup> The rest (*vv.* 9–13) would naturally come after *xii.* 31.

The first paragraph of chapter *xix.* (1–13) is an adaptation of the law of asylum, found in its simplest form in *Ex.* *xxi.* 12–14, to the new demand for the centralization of religion. One would naturally refer it to the author of *xii.* 13 ff. and *xv.* 12 ff. Its linguistic peculiarities on the whole justify such a disposition of it, or the greater part of it. The Deity is uniformly called “Jehovah thy God.” See also “therefore I command” (7), “as an inheritance” (10), “eye shall not pity” (13), and “put away” (13), which are found only in connection with the singular of the second person; and “dispossess” (1), “which Jehovah . . . giveth” (2, 10), “sware,” of God’s promise to the fathers (8), “which I command . . . this day” (9), “love,” with Jehovah as object (9), “walk in his ways” (9), “always” (9), and “the elders” (12), which occur three or more times as often with the singular as with the plural. The only expression that seems to betray a later hand is “cause to inherit” (3). Perhaps, as Staerk suggests, 3 a, which is virtually a repetition of *v.* 2, is an interpolation. It is possible that the parenthetical explanation in 5 a should be placed in the same category.

There seems to be no ground for questioning the originality of *v.* 14; but in the final paragraph the occurrence of the plural in *v.* 19\*, and the discrepancy in the matter of the parties having jurisdiction over the supposed case between *vv.* 17 and 18, require explanation. The fact that the place of trial is “before Jehovah” and that, not only in the Samaritan Pentateuch but in some of the best Hebrew codices, the verb (be) of 17 b is singular, appears to indicate that the person before whom the case was to come was

<sup>68</sup> Note that this passage brings the personality of Moses into unusual prominence; also that, although the phrases “from thy midst” and “Jehovah thy God” occur in *vv.* 14 f.\*, the construction after “listen” (שָׁמַע), the one more common with the plural than with the singular, is the same in *v.* 14 as in *vv.* 15\* and 19, and the name Jehovah is the only one found in the last six verses of the chapter.

originally, as in xvii. 9 and 12, "the priest." There are, however, objections to such a conclusion. In the first place, the case supposed is not one that would warrant an appeal to the highest judicial authority. Moreover, the phraseology of *v.* 17, "Jehovah" instead of "Jehovah thy God," excites suspicion; and the mention of the judges alone in *v.* 18 suggests that "Jehovah before the priests and" is an interpolation. See xxi. 5. If this supposition is correct, the second plural in *v.* 19\* is probably a natural mistake for the third, the original reading having been "then shall they" (the judges), etc.; comp. *Steuernagel, i. l.*

In chapter xx. the first verse has the singular of the second person, and so, according to the Greek, has the second; but the visionary character of the course prescribed in *vv.* 2-9 favors the opinion that the passage belongs to the later element in Deuteronomy. See also, besides the plurals, "hear, O Israel" (3), "dread" (3), "fight for," of Jehovah (4), and "the officers" (5, 8, 9).

The second paragraph (*vv.* 10-18) naturally falls into two parts, the first of which (*vv.* 10-14) reminds one of xiii. 13/12 ff.\*, and is therefore probably the work of the original Deuteronomist. See "with the edge of the sword" (13) and "its spoil" (14). The second part (*vv.* 15-18) has two or three phrases that belong to the older style; e.g. "these nations" (15), "giveth as an inheritance" (16), and "devote to destruction" (17); but, besides the plural in *v.* 18, there are slight peculiarities of expression, such as "these peoples" (16), "nothing that breatheth" (16), and "teach" (18), which indicate that the passage is partly, if not wholly, of secondary origin. Note also the likeness between this passage and Jos. xi. 11, 14.<sup>69</sup>

The last two verses of this chapter, being in line with the humane policy of *vv.* 10 ff., may safely be referred to the same author.

There is no ground for suspecting the originality of xxi. 1-9, as a whole; but the phrase "and thy judges" in *v.* 2 is probably an afterthought; also *v.* 5 entire, for the priests, like the judges, are totally ignored in the ceremony described. For evidence as to the authorship of the rest of the passage, see "land which Jehovah . . . giveth" (1), "the elders" (2, 3, 4, 6), "redeemed" (8), "put away" (9), "from thy midst" (9), and "that which is right," etc. (9).

The next paragraph, in fact the rest of the chapter, although the second person does not occur in the law concerning the first-born (*vv.* 15-17), has the general characteristics of the work of the first

<sup>69</sup> The list of the peoples condemned to destruction may be even later than its setting. It would naturally come after 16 a.



Deuteronomist. Familiar expressions are "listen to the voice of" (18, 20), "the elders" (19, 20), "put away . . . from thy midst" (21), "hear and fear" (21), and "giveth as an inheritance" (23).<sup>70</sup>

In chapter xxii. the latter half of *v.* 7 challenges attention. There is no reason why regard for birds should be more highly commended than kindness to the domestic animals. See, moreover, the active "prolong," instead of the passive "be prolonged." In *v.* 24\* the plural of the second person probably marks an addition to the text, the original having been "then (lit. *and*; Eng. wrongly *that*) they shall die," without the words preceding. See *v.* 22. The rest of the chapter is probably original. See "an abomination to Jehovah" (5), "the elders" (15, 16, 17, 18), "put away" (21, 22, 24), and "from thy midst" (21, 24).<sup>71</sup>

The same can hardly be said for the first verses of chapter xxiii. The departure, in *v.* 1 (Eng. xxii. 30), from the scope of the preceding regulations is undeniable. It can only be explained by diversity of authorship. See Lev. xviii. In the prohibitions that follow (2/1-9/8) Israel is regarded as a religious community and repeatedly called "the assembly," as in *v.* 19/22; ix. 10; x. 4; etc. This was certainly not the conception of the original Deuteronomist. See also the plural pronoun in 5/4 a, and "Jehovah" alone in 2/1-4/3 and 9/8. On the other hand, see "Jehovah thy God" three times in *v.* 6/5, and the change from the plural ("they met") to the singular ("he," Eng. wrongly *they*, "hired") in *v.* 5/4\*. The passage is undoubtedly composite. The older parts of it are 5/4 b-6/5 and 8/7; but they may not stand in their original connection. See xxv. 17 ff.

There is room for doubt with reference to the unity of *vv.* 10/9-15/14 also; for, although the singular of the second person is used throughout, — the *you* of the English version in *v.* 11/10 being an inaccuracy, — the case described in *vv.* 11/10 f. does not belong to the same class as the one for which provision is made in *vv.* 13/12 ff. See Lev. xv. 16. The expression "give . . . before" (15/14) is one of the peculiarities of the older style.

The remainder of the chapter (16/15-26/25) abounds in indications of originality. See "in thy midst" (17/16), "which he shall

<sup>70</sup> The construction after the verb "listen" (hear) in 18 b differs from that in 18 a and 20. Perhaps, therefore, 18 b, which merely emphasizes the offence previously stated, is an addition to the original text.

<sup>71</sup> The Greek has the plural also in *vv.* 22, 25 b, and, in some codices, in *v.* 26. In the last case the Samaritan Pentateuch has the same form.

choose" (17/16), "thy gates" (17/16), "an abomination to Jehovah" (19/18), "foreigner . . . brother" (21/20), "may bless thee" (21/20), "every endeavor of thy hand" (21/20), "comest to possess it" (21/20), "be a sin" (22/21, 23/22).

The first paragraph of chapter xxiv. (*vv.* 1-4), as both its content and its phraseology indicate, is original. So also the several particulars under the general law of humanity of which the rest of the chapter (*vv.* 5-22) mainly consists. See "an abomination to Jehovah" (4), "giveth thee for an inheritance" (4), "put away . . . from thy midst" (7), "it shall be righteousness" (13), "thy stranger" (14), "within thy gates" (14), "it be sin" (15), "a servant in Egypt" (18, 22), "stranger . . . orphan . . . widow" (17, 19, 20, 21), "therefore I command thee" (18, 22), "may bless thee" (19), "all the work of thy hands" (19). The content of *vv.* 8 f.\* varies from that of the context, and so, as one would expect, does the language. Here again "the priests the Levites" (8) are introduced as those who are to "teach" Israel what they are to "observe to do," and the plural of the second person, except at the beginning of *v.* 8\*, is used throughout the passage.

The content of chapter xxv., also, in general, breathes the spirit of the original Deuteronomist; and the language of the first 16 verses, so far as should be expected in view of the fact that his task was one of revision, exhibits the characteristics of his style. See "thy eye shall not spare" (12), "that thy days may be prolonged" (15), "which Jehovah . . . giveth thee" (15), "an abomination to Jehovah" (16). In *v.* 17\*, however, the plural of the second person occurs in the same expression, "as ye came forth from Egypt," in which it is used in xxiv. 9\*. See also "give rest" (19), found elsewhere only with the plural. Even the expressions in *v.* 19 that seem at first sight to offset those just mentioned, on closer examination become less significant. Thus, "as an inheritance" is here followed by "to possess it," but not elsewhere except in a parenthetical statement in xv. 4 whose originality is not unquestioned, and "forget" is nowhere else found at the end of a charge, as if it were an afterthought. On the whole it seems safe to conclude that these last three verses, if any part of them is from the hand of the original Deuteronomist, have been recast by a later author.<sup>72</sup>

The first 11 verses of chapter xxvi. are universally regarded as

<sup>72</sup> See Bacon (*Exodus*, 262), who refers them mainly to E, but supposes "all that . . . weary" (18) and "in the land . . . possess it" (19) to have been added by Rd.

original. See "which Jehovah . . . giveth thee" (1, 2), "as an inheritance" (1), "which Jehovah . . . shall choose" (2), "that shall be in those days" (3), "sware to our fathers" (3), "with a strong hand and an arm outstretched" (8), "signs and wonders" (8), "flowing with milk and honey" (9), "in thy midst" (11). The second paragraph also may with confidence be attributed to the first Deuteronomist. See "the Levite," with "the stranger," etc. (12, 13), "within thy gates" (12), "put away" (13, 14), "forgotten" (13), "hearkened to the voice of" (14), "swarest to our fathers" (15), "flowing with milk and honey" (15).

The last four verses of the chapter contain various expressions always or generally found with the singular of the second person. See "with all thy heart," etc. (16), "walk in his ways" (17), "hearken to his voice" (17), "a peculiar people" (18), "as he spake" (18, 19), "a holy people" (19). On the other hand, "statutes" (masc.), with "judgments" (16), or "commands and judgments" (17), and "commands" alone (18) reveal the style in which the plural is preferred. In fact, the phrase "statutes and judgments," with which the paragraph opens, seems, and probably is, an echo of the title prefixed to chapter xii., the first verses of which, as has been shown, must be referred to the reviser.

The analysis of the "kernel" of Deuteronomy is now complete. If it is correct, the following passages only can with more or less confidence be attributed to the original author: xii. 13-15, 17-31; xiii. 2/1-4/3 a, 6/5 f., 9/8-19/18; xiv. 2 f., 21 b-23 a, 24-29; xv. 1-3, 4 b, 6 b-23; xvi. 1-8 (in part), 9-11, 13-17, 18 (exc. "and officers"), 19-22; xvii. 1-8, 9 (in part), 10-16 a, 17; xviii. 1 a (in part), 4-13; xix. 1-2, 3 b-4, 5 b-16, 17 (exc. "Jehovah — and"), 18-21; xx. 1, 10-14, 19 f.; xxi. 1, 2 (exc. "and thy judges"), 3 f., 6-18 a, 19-23; xxii. 1-7 a, 8-23, 24 (in part), 25; xxiii. 5/4 b-6/5, 8/7, 10/9, 13/12-26/25; xxiv. 1-7, 10-22; xxv. 1-16; xxvi. 1-15.

The fourth, and last, part of Deuteronomy, chapters xxvii. ff., has undergone greater changes than the body of the book.

Chapter xxvii. is clearly not in its original position. There is evidence, too, that it is of composite authorship. In the first paragraph, *vv.* 1-8\*, the work of at least two writers is discoverable. One of them is the same who elsewhere in Deuteronomy prefers the plural of the second person and repeatedly refers to the passage of the Jordan. His hand is apparent in 1 b,<sup>73</sup> 2 a\*, 3 a, and 4 a. The

<sup>73</sup> In 1 b the Samaritans, for the infinitive שָׁמַר, read the imperative plural שִׁמְרוּ.

remaining verses and parts of verses (which must be transposed, so that 3 b will come before 2 b and 8 before 5, to bring them into a natural and intelligible order) at first sight seem to belong to the older stratum of the book. See "which Jehovah . . . giveth" (3 b), "a land flowing with milk and honey" (3 b), "as Jehovah . . . spake" (3 b), "rejoice before Jehovah" (7), and "plainly" (well, 8). There are, however, serious objections to such an inference, viz.: that the accumulation of Deuteronomic expressions in 3 b excites suspicion, and, secondly, that the original Deuteronomist would have directed that his law be inaugurated at the place chosen by Jehovah for the sole sanctuary of Israel. It is probable, therefore, as Bacon (*Exodus*, 263) and others maintain, that in *vv.* 1-8\* an excerpt from E, whose phraseology appears in "offer burnt offerings and . . . sacrifice peace offerings" (6 f.; see Ex. xxiv. 5), has been recast by a Deuteronomic editor. The original probably immediately followed E's "judgments" (Ex. xxi. f.). See on xi. 29 f.

There is no connection between *vv.* 9 f. and what precedes or follows them; but they furnish precisely the sort of introduction which, on the supposition that chapter xxvi. originally closed with *v.* 15 (comp. Steuernagel, *Rahmen*, 38 f.), is needed for chapter xxviii. It is more than probable, however, that "and the priests the Levites" was wanting in the original of *v.* 9, and that, in *v.* 10, the Hebrew word for "statutes" was not masculine, but feminine, as it still is in Samaritan codices.

The case of *vv.* 11-13 is similar to that of *vv.* 1-8\*, but clearer. See "Levi" as one of the tribes of Israel (12). The curses of *vv.* 14-26, although they present one or two cases of Deuteronomic phraseology ("an abomination to Jehovah," 15; "stranger, fatherless, and widow," 19), cannot have been written by the original Deuteronomist. His curses, as well as his blessings, are found in chapter xxviii. These verses, as critics of all schools recognize, betray acquaintance with P, and are therefore later than the second edition of Deuteronomy.

In chapter xxviii. the consequences of obedience and disobedience to the injunction of xxvii. 10 are contrasted. The singular of the second person is used except in parts of *vv.* 14\*, 62 f.\*, and 68\*; but there are reasons for suspecting the originality of other portions of the chapter. The first six verses seem to be original. See "hearken to the voice of" (1, 2), "Jehovah thy God" (1, 2), "which I command thee this day" (1), and "the increase of thy kine" (4).<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> In *v.* 1, for "observe to do," the Samaritans read "observe and do."

The remaining verses of the paragraph devoted to the consequences of obedience (7-14), although the form of discourse is changed and the divine name, with which the promises that now take the place of blessings *begin*, is "Jehovah," also have "Jehovah thy God" (8, 9, 13), and contain various other expressions most frequently found with the singular of the second person. See "deliver . . . to" (7; Eng. "cause," etc.), "every effort of thy hand" (8), "which Jehovah . . . giveth" (8), "a holy people" (9), "walk in his ways" (9), "sware to thy fathers" (11), "work of thy hand" (12), "which I command . . . this day" (13, 14). It is possible that, as Steuernagel (*Rahmen*, 40) suggests, these Deuteronomic features are due to imitation. This, he thinks, is the case with vv. 9-11 and 13 f.\* The rejection of v. 9 seems unwarranted, but v. 10 may be, and the details, "in the fruit of thy body," etc., in v. 11, doubtless are, from the hand of a reviser. So also, while v. 13, except the last clause, seems needed to furnish the paragraph with a proper conclusion, v. 14\*, as the warning against "other gods" would lead one to suspect, is probably an addition to the text.<sup>75</sup>

The curses of vv. 15-19 correspond to the blessings of vv. 1-6, except that the order is not the same in both passages. Perhaps vv. 17 and 18 (or 4 and 5) should be transposed. There follows a series of threats some of which correspond to the promises of vv. 7-14\*. With v. 7 compare 25 a; with v. 8, 20 a; with v. 11, v. 24; and with v. 13, vv. 43-45. In these verses see the expressions, "every effort of thy hand" (20), "until thou be destroyed" (20, 24, 45), "whither thou comest to possess it" (21), "in thy midst" (43), "hearkenedst not to the voice of" (45), "commands and statutes" (fem. 45), and "Jehovah thy God" (45). The only expression in the remaining portions of vv. 20-45 (20 b, 22 f., 25 b-42) that reminds one of the original Deuteronomy is the "which thou hast not known" of vv. 33 and 36. This circumstance suggests that vv. 36 f. are the missing parallel to vv. 9 f., a suggestion which is rendered more plausible by the relation in content between the two passages and the necessity of such a threat to account for the language of xxx. 1 ff. These five threats and the conclusion by which they are separated from vv. 46 ff.\* are all that can with any confidence be attributed to the original Deuteronomist. The remainder consists of four threats (22, 27, 28, 35) modelled after those just described,

<sup>75</sup> The significance of the plural in this case is weakened by the fact that the Greek Version and the Samaritan Pentateuch have the singular.

but differing from them in that they are all introduced by the same verb (smite), and all deal with bodily ailments; of detailed misfortunes in two series (30-34; 38-42) without connection with each other or with the threats already mentioned; and perhaps of minor additions to the threats themselves, like 20 b, 23, and 25 b, of doubtful authorship.

It is not safe to say that the author of *v.* 45 would stop when he had developed the two sides of his subject symmetrically. In fact, one would naturally expect him to give more space to the second than to the first. It is not strange, therefore, that there has been sought, or found, in parts of *vv.* 46 ff.\*, more or less evidence that they also belonged to the original of Deuteronomy. See "sign and . . . wonder" (46), "Jehovah thy God" (47, 52, 53, 58, 62), "until . . . destroyed" (48, 51, 61), "corn, wine, and oil" (51), "increase of thy kine" (51), "thy gates" (52 *bis*, 55, 57), "which Jehovah . . . giveth" (52), "hearken to the voice of" (62), "comest to possess" (63), and "which thou hast not known" (64). On the other hand, see "cause . . . to perish" (51, 63, as in 20, 22), "observe to do" (58), besides the plural of the second person (62 f., in the Greek throughout; 68). To do justice to these conflicting indications, it seems necessary to suppose that the original Deuteronomist continued beyond *v.* 45, and that his work has received additions from another, and perhaps more than one other, hand. The portions that most probably belonged to the original text are *vv.* 46-48 a, 49, 52 b, 53, and 64. Outside of these verses the Deuteronomic features may be explained as imitations or reminiscences of the original style. The reference to Egypt in *v.* 68\* seems to betray acquaintance with the migration of the Jews to that country after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kgs. xxv. 26).<sup>76</sup>

The verse (69) which closes chapter xxviii. in Hebrew is reckoned the first of xxix. in the English and other versions, and this arrangement is favored by some modern scholars (Dillmann *et al.*); but it cannot be successfully defended. "The words of the covenant" can only mean the legislation introduced by iv. 44, now concluded, and regarded as the basis of a covenant similar to that at Horeb based on the ten commandments (*v.* 3; ix. 9). The reference to the covenant at Horeb is proof that the verse is from the hand of the author of iv. 10 ff.\*, etc.; the author who naturally employs the plural of the second person.

<sup>76</sup> In *v.* 64 the Greek has "Jehovah thy God."

This colophon separates the terms of the covenant from the discourse in which Moses is represented as inaugurating it. The discourse is introduced by the same words that are used in *v. 1*. It is therefore not surprising that it should begin with "Ye," etc. As a matter of fact, the plural of the second person is employed throughout the chapter, except in *2/3*, *4/5 bβ*, and *10/11 aβ-12/13*. The natural inference is that the chapter is mostly the work of the reviser. See, further, the name "Jehovah," except in *v. 11/12*, "unto this day" (*3/4*), and "officers" (*9/10*); also the references to the conquest of eastern Palestine (*6/7 f.*), idols (*16/17 f.*), and the covenant at Horeb (*24/25*). The only expression outside the verses excepted that favors a contrary opinion is "which they had not known" (*25/26*). As for *v. 2/3*, its phraseology was probably influenced by *vii. 19*; whence the Greek Version, which here has the plural, borrowed also "the mighty hand and the arm outstretched." In *4/5\**, too, the Greek has only plurals, and this is also the reading in Samaritan codices. If the singular is the correct reading, it may be explained as an imitation of *viii. 2 ff.*, the passage on which this one was evidently modelled.<sup>77</sup> The case of *10/11 aβ-12/13* is somewhat peculiar. The appearance of "Jehovah thy God" twice in *v. 11/12* has already been noted. See also "thy stranger" in *10 aβ*. Still, it is probable that these verses are by the same author as those that precede and follow. See "in the midst of thy camp" (*10/11*); also "oath" (*11/12*), which recurs in *vv. 13/14, 18/19, 19/20, and 20/21*, and is not found elsewhere as the equivalent of the same Hebrew word in Deuteronomy.

Chapter xxx. is the continuation, not of xxix., but of xxviii., as the reference to "the blessing and the curse" in *v. 1* clearly indicates. The singular of the second person is used except in parts of *vv. 18 f.\**, and it is accompanied by a number of expressions regularly found in connection with it in other parts of the book. See "Jehovah thy God" (15 times), "the blessing and the curse" (*1, 19*), "hearken to the voice of" (*2, 8, 10, 20*), "which I command thee this day" (*2, 8, 11*), "all thy heart and . . . soul" (*2, 6, 10*), "love," with Jehovah as object (*6, 16, 20*), "all the work of thy hand" (*9*), "commands and statutes" (*fem.; 10, 16*), "walk in his ways" (*16*), "bless" (*16*), "whither thou comest to possess it" (*16*), and "swear," of the promise of the land (*20*). The plural, on the other hand, where it is used, is accompanied by the expressions elsewhere found

<sup>77</sup> The form אַתָּה, for אַתָּה, occurs elsewhere in Deuteronomy only in *xii. 30* and *xxxii. 21, 39 (quat.), 49, 52*.

in connection with it. See "utterly perish" (18), "prolong your days" (18), "thou crossest (Greek and Samaritan codices, "ye cross") the Jordan," etc. (18), and "call to witness" (19). It would therefore seem safe to say, that, while the bulk of the chapter is original, *v.* 18\* and a part, at least, of *v.* 19\* must be the work of the later writer who has been called the reviser. But, if *v.* 18\* is omitted, *v.* 17 with its "strange gods" must go with it; and so must 19 aβ, as well as 19 aa. Nor is this passage all that may with considerable confidence be attributed to the reviser. The originality of *v.* 8, although it has "Jehovah thy God" in the Greek Version and in Samaritan codices, since it disturbs the connection between *vv.* 7 and 9, is at least doubtful. In *v.* 10 the clause referring to the book of the law, in which a singular participle, properly rendered "which is (Eng. "are") written," is connected as an attributive with two plural nouns, is probably an interpolation. The originality of *vv.* 11-14 is admissible, although they are singularly destitute of peculiarities of the earlier style, but it is not probable that they always occupied their present position. Perhaps, as Steuernagel (*Rahmen*, 44) suggests, they once came toward the end of the introduction of the book. Finally, there may be significance in the fact, that, in the Greek, two of the verbs of *v.* 16, "live" and "multiply," are plural, as in viii. 1\*.

In the first paragraph of chapter xxxi. (1-8) Moses, after reporting that Jehovah has denied him the favor of crossing the Jordan, addresses the people, first (3) in the singular, then (5-6 a) in the plural, and finally (6 b) in the singular again. The name "Jehovah thy God" appears in *vv.* 3 and 6\*. See also "dispossess" (3) and "sware to their fathers" (7). These expressions seem to speak for the originality of at least the verses in which they occur; but their significance is neutralized by others pointing in the opposite direction. See the reference to the passage of the Jordan (3), "nor dread them" (6), and "cause to inherit" (7). In view of these facts the safer opinion is that the whole paragraph is from the hand of the reviser, who perhaps derived his material from the Elohist narrative.

The second paragraph (9-13) has stronger claims to recognition as a part of the original of Deuteronomy. In the first place, it supplies a needed conclusion to the work; and secondly, it presents many of the peculiarities of the older style. See "the elders" (9), "year of release" (10), "feast of booths" (10), "Jehovah thy God" (11), "which he (Greek, "Jehovah thy God") shall choose" (11), "thy



stranger" (12), "in thy gates" (12), "fear," as a duty (12), and "learn to fear" (13). Here also, however, are traces of another hand. See especially "the priests the sons of Levi," etc. (9), and "whither ye cross," etc. (13). The resemblance of *v.* 12\* to *iv.* 10 makes its originality very doubtful. See also the expression "observe to do." The "your God" of this verse is of uncertain value as evidence. In the next it may be a mistake for "their God," the Samaritan reading, or "thy God," that of some of the Greek codices. Perhaps the "ye" of *v.* 13 was originally "they" in the Hebrew as in the Greek. In that case it would be necessary to refer only the last clause of the verse to the reviser. See, however, *iv.* 10, where "as long as they live," etc., is evidently of secondary origin. On the present text see *xii.* 1\*. Perhaps the verse originally closed with "always" (lit. "all the days"; Eng. "as long as"), like *xiv.* 23.

In the next paragraph (14-23) the singular takes the place of the plural of the second person in *v.* 19\*; but, in this case, if the text is correct, the singular doubtless refers to Moses, while the plural includes only him and Joshua. The Vulgate, as well as the Greek Version, has the plural throughout the verse.

The last paragraph (24-30) is a substitute for *vv.* 16-22\*, the original introduction to the Song of Moses. It must be referred to the reviser; for, although the singular of the second person is used in 26 a-27 a, the phraseology in other respects is the same throughout. See "rebellion" (27), "obstinacy" (27), "officers" (28), "call . . . to witness" (28), "do that which is evil" (29), and "to provoke him" (29).

Chapter xxxii. contains, first, the Song of Moses, which, however, since it did not originally belong to Deuteronomy, but was added to it by the reviser, need not be discussed in this connection. It is followed by a twofold conclusion, *v.* 44 corresponding to xxxi. 16-22\*, and *vv.* 45-47 to xxxi. 24-30\*. In the latter passage see "testify" (46), "observe to do" (46), "prolong your days" (47), and "whither ye cross," etc. (47).

The last paragraph of this chapter, it is agreed, comes from P; the "Blessing" that follows in chapter xxxiii., from E, or some other author of equal or greater age. Chapter xxxiv. is a composite production, the last two verses of which have a Deuteronomic cast. See "signs and wonders" (11), "mighty hand" (12), "great terror" (12), and "all Israel" (12). The first three of these expressions occur in xxvi. 8, but the order here is different, and "mighty hand" alone is a mark of the reviser's style.

The remains of the original of Deuteronomy preserved in chapters xxvii. ff. of the present book, then, are: xxvii. 9 f. (in part); xxviii. 1-8, 9, 10(?), 11 (in part), 12, 13 (in part), 15-20 a, 21, 24-25 a, 36 f.(?), 43-48 a, 49, 52 b-53, 64; xxx. 1-7, 9, 10 (exc. "which" — "law"), 11-14(?), 16 (in part), 19 b-20; xxxi. 9 (in part), 10 f., 13 (in part).

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In the course of the above discussion it has more than once been intimated that what has been called "the original" of Deuteronomy was a composite work; also that the additions made to it were not all made by one editor or reviser. It would now be in order to proceed to inquire whence the original author derived his materials, and how many contributed to the completion of his work. These questions, however, can wait until the validity of the results thus far obtained has been tested.